PALESTINE EXPLORATION QUARTERLY

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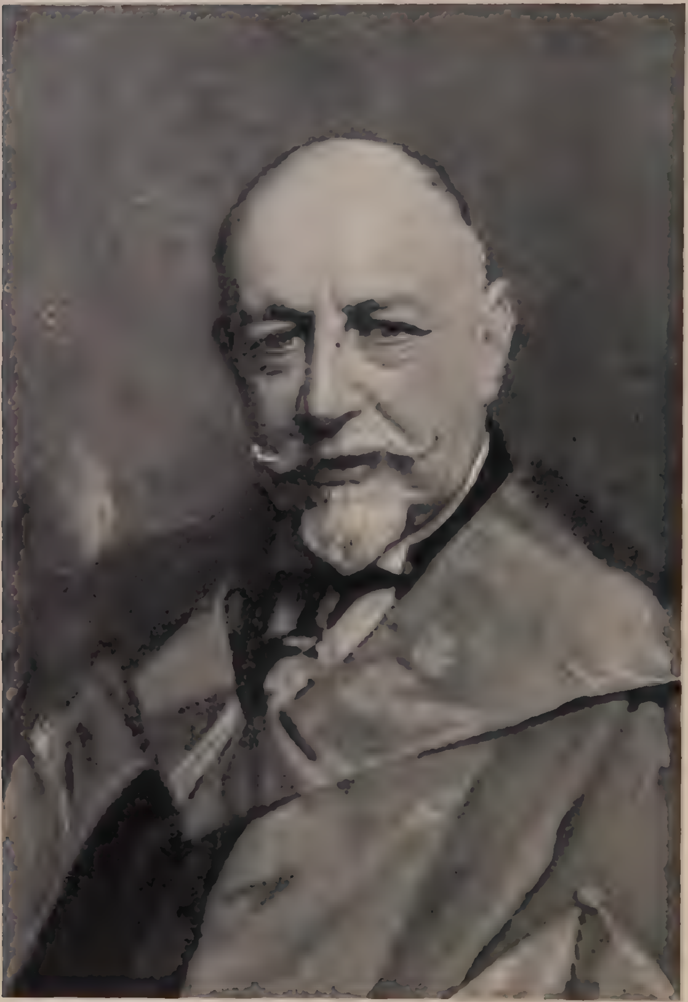

SIR ROBERT MOND, LL.D.
(*From a Painting by Frank O. Salisbury*)

THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND

NOTES AND NEWS

Sir Robert Mond.—On page 44 appears a Memoir by Professor Myres on the late Sir Robert Mond who died on 22nd October, 1938. He fulfilled the office of Hon. Treasurer of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem after being in a large measure responsible for its foundation. His association with the Palestine Exploration Fund dates from 1918–19, during the early negotiations for the founding of the B.S.A.J. He joined the Executive Committee of the Fund in 1920 and became a Joint Hon. Treasurer in 1930.

In addition to being a generous subscriber, he made valuable additions to the library at 2 Hinde Street, and the Fund, in common with other kindred societies deplores the loss of a valued friend and benefactor.

One of the results of recent discoveries at Lachish and Ugarit has been a number of fresh studies in what American scholars are beginning to call " alphabetology," that is to say, the study of the origin and history of the alphabet. The factors which have given a fresh direction to this study are the Sinaitic script from Serabit, the various examples of archaic script from Lachish, and the cuneiform alphabet from Ras Shamra. The most recent study of this subject is Julius Obermann's monograph, *The Archaic Inscriptions from Lachish*, published as a supplement to the American Journal of Oriental Studies. It takes account of nearly all previous studies, including Mr. T. H. Gaster's articles in this Journal, which it treats with more consideration than they have received from some scholars. Those who are interested in the latest developments in the story of the alphabet will find it valuable and suggestive, in spite of a tendency to fall into a pseudo-scientific jargon, as the use, for example, of such an alarming term as " aspectual fixation!"

The Lachish Letters continue to occupy the attention of scholars, and, as was to be expected, various aspects of the initial presentation are being subjected to careful critical examination. In a previous number of the QUARTERLY Dr. Jack has already discussed some of the historical questions raised by the Letters, and in this issue appears the first part of a thorough examination of the Letters from the point of view of palaeography, by Dr. S. Birnbaum. Professor Dussaud discusses the contents of the Letters with his customary acuteness in the current number of *Syria*, and inclines to the view that Jeremiah is the prophet whose activities are referred to in the correspondence. Dr. Hempel also examines the problems of the Letters in the latest issue of ZAW, and his conclusions tend to confirm some of the results arrived at by Dr. Birnbaum.

The report of the ninth's season's excavation of what its distinguished excavator calls " *le site inépuisable* " of Ras Shamra appears in the current issue of *Syria*. This season's work has thrown fresh light on that period of the history of Ugarit which is contemporary with the end of the Middle Kingdom and the Hyksos domination of Egypt. Professor Schaeffer's summing-up of the results is significant, " Hence it becomes more and clear that the Hyksos movement is not simply an episode of Egyptian history and of its relation to the history of Palestine. It was an event of far greater scope which profoundly changed the political and racial structure of the whole of the Near East. Its repercussions were felt as far as the Aegean, reaching to Cyprus and probably even to Crete. The inexhaustible site of Ras Shamra promises to provide us also with material for the solution of the still unsolved Hyksos problem."

The Annual Report of the Department of Agriculture and Fisheries, for the year ended 31st March, 1938, is the last to be issued over the signature of Mr. M. T. Dawe, the Director who has since retired. To the general public the principal interest will be in the sections relating to citrus fruits on which much of the prosperity of the country depends. Commercially this industry was a little better than in previous years but still unsatisfactory. The net profit to growers of oranges was 1*s.* to 2*s.* a case, but on grape fruit there was no profit, in many cases a loss. This unfortunate state of affairs was largely due to over-production or lack of markets, and in view of the prospective further increase of production in this and future years, the position is by no means satisfactory. Vegetables also show over-production and " it was not uncommon for some crops . . . to be left to rot in the fields as it did not pay to harvest them." One of the appendices gives the local names of the forty-one varieties of fish caught off the coast of Palestine.

Forthcoming P.E.F. LECTURES are :

Wednesday, 25th January, 1939, at 4.30 p.m. EXCAVATIONS IN PETRA. By DR. MARGARET MURRAY.

Wednesday, 22nd February, at 4.30 p.m. EXCAVATIONS AT BEISAN. By G. M. FITZGERALD, M.A.

These lectures take place at 2 Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.1, and admission is free to Members and interested friends of the P.E.F. and the B.S.A.J.

PHOENICIAN AND SYRIAN IVORY CARVING

I[1]

Phoenician or Syrian objects carved in ivory have now been found in several excavations in the Mediterranean and Near East. In Palestine we have them from Megiddo,[2] Lachish,[3] Samaria,[4] Beth-pelet,[5] in Syria notably at Ḫadatu (Arslan Tash),[6] Carchemish, Sam'al (Senjirli),[7] and Ḥamath and an undisclosed site which has furnished a collection to New York,[8] at Guzana[9] (Tell Ḫalaf), at Ugarit (Ras Shamra)[10] and at Tell Atchana; and in Phoenicia from Byblos[11] and Sidon. Other lots or isolated pieces have evidently strayed further abroad through commerce, gift or capture, to the capitals or shrines of other countries of the ancient world. In Assyria collections were found at Kalaḫ (Nimrud)[12] and Dur-Sharrukin (Khorsabad)[13] and pieces at Ṭarbiṣu (Sherif Ḫan)[14]: and in the South at Sippar[15] and Ur.[16] In the West they have been discovered in Cyprus[17] and Rhodes,[18] in the Cretan Cave of Idaean Zeus,[1] at Perachora[2] and Athens[3] and perhaps Sparta[4]; and in the North, ivories which may belong to the same class are found in Anatolia.[5] These objects are found in groups or singly. They may be single human or animal figures; or panels, often from a box. In other cases they occur in bulk, being evidently the remains of pieces of furniture such as beds and couches, such as are mentioned in Biblical and Assyrian texts. The conclusion is forced upon us that ivory-carving must have been a speciality of Syria and Palestine, where so many examples have now been found, and which forms the centre round which the remainder of the examples found have been distributed.

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[1] This paper is based on a lecture delivered to the Fund on 28th March, 1938.

[2] *Illustrated London News*, 23rd November, 1937.

[3] *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*, 1934, pls. vii and viii.

[4] *Ibid.*, 1932, 132, pls. i-iii; 1933, pls. i-iii.

[5] Petrie, *Beth-pelet*, pl. lv.

[6] Thureau-Dangin and others, *Arslan Tash.*

[7] Koldewey, *Ausgrabungen von Sendschirli*, II, pl. xxxiii.

[8] *Bulletin of Metropolitan Museum of New York*, 1936, 221ff., figs, 1–3; 1937, 89ff., figs. 1–4.

[9] von Oppenheim, *Der Tell Halaf*, pl. lix.

[10] *Syria*, 1932, pl. lvi.

[11] Montet, *Byblos et l'Egypte*, pl. cxlvii, 878.

[12] Barnett, *Iraq*, 1935, pls. xxiii–xxvii.

[13] *Illustrated London News*, 14th July, 1937.

[14] *Iraq*, *loc. cit.*, 197.

[15] B. M., 118161.

[16] B. M., 116544.

[17] Petrie, *Objects of Daily Use*, pl. xi, 12; Sjöqvist in *Swedish Cyprus Expedition*, pl. clii. I have noted elsewhere in this article, p. 10, the examples of the special half-Mycenean school.

[18] Blinkenberg, *Lindos*, pl. xvi, 421; also unpublished examples from Ialysos at the Museum in Rhodes.

We can partly see why they were made here if we turn for a moment to an art akin to that of ivory carving, namely, that of carving wood. It is one in which we gather the Phoenicians were esteemed to be skilful craftsmen at the time of Solomon, since he employed them in the construction of the Temple. For this branch of carving there was in Syria and Palestine the necessary prerequisite for its development—a ready supply of raw material. In the interest of the wood-workers Phoenicia could draw on the world-famous forests of Lebanon.

In the case of ivory carving also, the material for the development of a local art and industry was here at hand. In the second millennium B.C. large herds of elephants roamed wild in the valleys of the Euphrates and its tributaries. In 1464 Amenemhep, general of Thothmes III, carried the arms of his master to the heart of Northern Syria, and a text has survived in which he describes his personal part in a great elephant drive near Nia (on the Sajur river towards Carchemish) in the course of which one hundred and twenty elephants were captured.[6] In the eleventh century, the Assyrian king Tiglathpileser I slew ten bull elephants and caught four alive in the country of Harran and in the district of the Ḫabur river.[1] Two centuries later Ashurnazirpal II (883–859) was likewise able to collect live examples for a zoological park, and to slay thirty from ambush.[2] But it seems that not long afterwards the elephant became extinct in this region, since all accounts of it cease. It must have been a special Syrian variety of the Indian family. Only one certain representation of it survives, in a tomb painting in the tomb at Thebes of Rekhmire, vizier to Thothmes III. An elephant with a red hide is there brought by a Syrian as a gift. In spite of having the large tusks of an adult, being only half the height of a man, it would seem that it was meant to depict a calf. The outline and the ears confirm that it is of the Indian type.[3] (Pl. I.)

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[1] Kunze, *Athenische Mitteilungen*, 60/61, 1935/6, pls. lxxxiv–viii.

[2] Payne, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1931, 192, fig. viii.

[3] Kunze, *Athenische Mitteilungen*, LV, 1930, pl. viii. I am convinced that this little figure is an Oriental original from North Syria and formed the model for the other native Greek copies found with it.

[4] Dawkins, *Artemis Orthia*.

[5] For references see pp. 18-19.

[6] Breasted, *Ancient Records*, II, 227.

On the fall of the Hyksos kings, the Egyptian Pharaohs of the eighteenth dynasty became the masters of their empire in Syria and Palestine. The influence of Egyptian art on the industries of those provinces had doubtless already been present under the Hyksos but was now increased. A lively *va-et-vient* of business sprang up from which both Egypt and these countries benefited, each side adding new forms and ideas to their respective artistic repertoires, as can be seen from the illustrations in the Theban tombs.[4]

It may be doubted whether until the fifteenth century the provinces of coastal Syria and Phoenicia produced works of art very different from each other. One of the earliest examples is a cosmetic bowl of wood from a tomb at Gurob of the eighteenth dynasty.[5] On the sides are two female heads with curling locks of hair, perhaps representing Hathor or Astarte; while between the heads are carved two sphinxes advancing towards a "sacred tree." Although in some respects the decoration suggests that of the group of Syrian seals called

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[1] Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, I, 247.

[2] *Ibid.*, 520.

[3] N. de G. Davies, *Tomb of Rekhmire*, pl. xii. Reproduced here by kind permission of the author.

[4] Montet, *Les Reliques de l'art syrien dans l'Egypte du Nouvel Empire.*

[5] Boreux, *Guide-Catalogue Sommaire, antiquités Egyptiennes du Louvre*, pl. lxxvi, illustrated here by kind permission of M. Boreux. A drawing of the sphinxes will be found reproduced in *Arslan Tash*, 107, fig. 37.

"Syro-hittite," it would be difficult to deny the possibility that this bowl had been carved at Byblos or Sidon in Phoenicia (Pl. II, 1).

In the Amarna period, however, Syria and Phoenicia began historically to fall increasingly apart. Egypt was obliged gradually to yield Syria to new rivals on its northern frontier, to the Hittite kings of Anatolia. Phoenicia, however, could not be easily given up. As a source of raw materials it was indispensable to Egypt, and remained within her sphere of influence so long as she retained any measure of independence. This state of affairs is reflected in the contemporary field of art, inasmuch as the work of Phoenicia now comes to be marked throughout by close adherence to Egyptian styles and models. Examples of it under the eighteenth dynasty, however, are as yet rare. From the temple at Lachish there are several pieces, notably a bottle[1] in the shape of a woman, who carries on her head a hollowed hand into which the liquid runs when the vase is inclined. There is a small head,[2] which recalls the style of Tell-el-Amarna; and a good example of a cylindrical pyxis[3] with scenes of fighting animals (Pl. II, 2). Both shape and motif were to become characteristic of Phoenician art.

The best light that has been shed on this school comes from Megiddo. Here a splendid find of various objects of ivory was made only last year in the palace of the thirteenth century.[4]

It is perhaps most interesting to observe numerous details of non-Egyptian origin which persist here in spite of the top-dressing of Egyptian characteristics. A panel, with a flat surface, perhaps the lid of a box, is incised (Pl. III, 1).[5] This is a technique not so common in Egypt. It is one which smacks more of the engraver, of the metal worker's craft, and takes us for parallels to the ancient centres of metal-working in Mesopotamia. The present scene illustrates the triumphant return of a general from a *razzia* against savage tribes, and his re-introduction amid musical honours to the presence of his king who receives enthroned the offerings of food from his priestess queen and his attendants. The priestess's headdress and her action are enough to show that the native Semitic cults of Phoenicia, more akin to Mesopotamia than to Egypt, persisted in defiance of all superficial Egyptian influences that might be imposed.

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[1] *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly*, 1934, pl. viii, 1.

[2] *Ibid.*, pl. iii, 2.

[3] *Illustrated London News*, 6th July, 1937, figure. Illustrated here by kind permission of Mr. Inge.

[4] *Illustrated London News*, 23rd October, 1937.

[5] Reproduced by kind permission of Mr. Loud.

The author of a panel from Tell el-fare'[1] (Pl. III, 2–4) in the same period has acclimatized more successfully to the Egyptian atmosphere. The subject is a festive procession moving towards a seated noble, and a hunting scene, quite painstakingly modelled on Egyptian lines. Nevertheless, if it is closely inspected, several details betray the disguise. First, the technique of incision, to which we have referred ; next, the palm with S-shaped pendant leaves,[2] which is equally foreign in its rendering. Next, the two bulls, which must be influenced by Mycenean models ; lastly, the fowling and fishing scene, which though it in many respects correctly follows Egyptian patterns, recurs exactly on a silver vase from Tell Basta in Egypt, long suspected of being an importation from abroad.[3] It is plain that it was a stock subject of the school which produced both this ivory and the silver vase.

But it is obvious that we might expect to find at this period schools of ivory carving not only in Phoenicia but also in neighbouring regions. What remains of them ? A discovery has recently been made apparently in North Syria of a large number of carved ivories which are now in New York. The contents of this collection are not all in the same style. One piece, a panel incised with ducks fluttering, is presumably from the Phoenician school.[4] The others are in a different style. There is a lion in low relief[5] (Pl. IV, 1), which reminds us of nothing so much as the Hittite Lions from the Gateway at Boghazköy. There is an unguent pot, too, carved in the shape of a sitting sphinx[1] (Pl. IV, 2). Once again, the nearest parallel to its large nose and eyes, and its vigorous style would seem to be in the famous gateway deity from Boghazköy. It is enough to compare this sphinx with one found at Megiddo[2] to realize how sharply the present school, closely connected with Hittite art, differs from the Phoenician (Pl. V, 1).

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[1] Petrie, *Beth-pelet*, I, pl. lv.

[2] Palm-leaves of this type, though much conventionalized, occur on late Mycenean sherds, evidently reflecting Syrian influences : Forsdyke, *Catalogue of Vases in the B.M.*, I, I, fig. 285. A10671 and perhaps A981. Compare Phoenician examples in ivory, Thureau-Dangin, &c., *Arslan Tash*, pl. xliv ; Crowfoot, *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly*, 1932, pl. iii.

[3] C. Edgar, *Annales du Service des Antiquités*, XXV, 258, pl. i, fig. 1.

[4] *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of New York*, 1937, 89, fig. 2.

[5] *Ibid.*, 90, fig. 4.

It is peculiarly interesting, but not surprising, to discover this new school. The presence of Hittite influences in the North is exactly in keeping with what might be expected from the history of the times. In 1272 the famous treaty between Hattusil III and Ramses II was signed, bringing into open recognition the fact that power in Syria was now balanced between them. Its territorial provisions are not recorded but seem to have legitimated a state of *uti possidetis*, by which Syria was confirmed in the possession of the Hittites, while Phoenicia and Palestine were recognized as under Egyptian suzerainty.

Further evidence concerning this new school of carving is accumulating from excavations, but is not yet published. Until that occurs, the only fresh contribution to this group from any other source would seem to be the naked female figure of unknown provenance in the British Museum (Pl. V, 2)[3] and a figure and a panel with minute carvings found at Atchana.[4]

Thus there were already at this time influences playing upon Syria and Phoenicia from at least three directions. That from the southern quarter sought to make Phoenician art into a province of the Egyptian. That from the North was fanned by the Hittites, while an age-old connection with Mesopotamia *via* the North-East undoubtedly underlay both. There remains for mention one more current which came to form in its turn a recognizable style of its own. This flowed from the only remaining quarter, the West, that is to say, from the sea. During the thirteenth century the sea was dominated by the sailors and merchants of Mycenean Greece, whose trading interests in North Syria have been amply demonstrated at Ras Shamra. Here, as is usual in large ports, the population was much mixed. Though apparently founded as a trading station by the Phoenicians, Ras Shamra reached the acme of its prosperity when colonized by an influx of Mycenean settlers. Another important section, however, of the population consisted of an obscure stock, known as the Hurrians. From this union of East and West resulted a special group of hybrid works of art which are found distributed along a line extending to Mycenae.[1] An ivory box-lid from Ras Shamra displays this mixture of influences well.[2] A goddess, Mycenean in attire, sits on an altar and holds ears of corn to be eaten by two goats. Though the hand is the hand of a Mycenean artist, the symbolism is in all details that of the Near East. Another piece, badly broken, is part of cylindrical pyxis from Ras Shamra, of the type noticed at Tell Duweir. It is adorned with a frieze on which is a scene of figures approaching an enthroned figure, behind whom a group of animals are fighting. A point in this piece of particular interest is that it is unfinished, strongly confirming the suggestion that ivories of this half-Mycenean group were made at Ras Shamra itself.[3]

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[1] *Ibid.*, 1936, 221, fig. 1.

[2] *Illustrated London News*, 23rd October, 1937.

[3] R. D. Barnett, *British Museum Quarterly*, X, pl. xxxiv.

[4] Published since the above was written, in *Illustrated London News*, 17th September, 1938, figs. 15 and 21. The boxes, figs. 13 and 14, are probably Phoenician work.

Cyprus has produced more of the same school in the tombs at Enkomi (Pl. VI, 1). On the mirror handle, a man armed in the fashion which the Egyptians at a not much later date found among the " Sea-Raiders," grapples in mortal combat with a griffin. Its discoverer observed[4] how " the tail, the wings, the feet and the open beak indicate the maximum of suffering ; while in the man, the intensity of the action is strongly expressed in the hand holding the sword and the pressure on the

[1] The light-on-dark painted ware, in technique and patterns having some connection with Crete, is now generally associated with the Hurrians ; and it is also now suggested by Speiser, *American Journal of Archaeology*, 1936, 171, that in the remarkable works of glazed frit which are found in some cases in the same places as the pottery, e.g., at Enkomi and Ashur, we have also products of a Hurrian craft.

[2] *Syria*, 1932, pl. lvi.

[3] *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 1930.

[4] Walters, *Excavations in Cyprus*, 31.

feet."[1] Whatever the exact meaning of this scene of monster-slaying, it is doubtless one of many variants of a motif which has given us equally the legends of Bellerophon and the Chimaera and St. George and the Dragon. Works such as this helped to distribute many Oriental fables among the peoples of the Greek world and the West.

On the reverse appear once more the fighting animals already mentioned. What exactly is their meaning ? M. René Dussaud has offered a possible interpretation.[1] Among the ancients learned in astrology, different creatures were associated with different gods, and these with various stars. The stars waxed and waned as if in perpetual struggle, and as they did so, the seasons and the seasons' blessings rotated in their course. The contest was symbolized by the Phoenicians as if between the deities of the season or of their respective beasts. Some such explanation associated with religion is given additional likelihood by the fact that mirrors, with handles shaped much like these, were represented till the ninth or eighth century B.C. in monuments of the chief goddess in North Syria.[2]

The gaming-box from Enkomi carries us a point further in disentangling the elements which make up this school of art (Pl. VI, 2, and VII, 1). The hunted quarry, flying helter-skelter, is lightly carved in a brilliant rendering of motion both unusual and unmistakable, nicknamed by students " the Mycenean gallop." The bulls, as convincingly drawn at rest as the others were in motion, would hardly shame the Cretan author of the Vaphio cups. But the huntsmen, one in a chariot the other with carefully shown equipment of feathered cap, socketed axe, and kilt, strike a foreign note, and, I venture to suggest, are Hurrians. That this enigmatic race, or group of races was important at this time in Ugarit and in North Syria is certain. The practice of the chase, and the art of charioteering, are attributed to them.[3] They go together. Scale armour likewise seems to have been their invention, and is at first principally worn by horse and charioteer, the two targets whose safety was vitally important yet who could not avail themselves of the protection of a shield.[1] The socketed axe, the short kilt, and beards, seem furthermore to have been typical of the same region. There is also some reason for associating the feathered headdress with the mountain peoples with whom the Hurrians seem to have been connected.[2] A goblet found last year by Mr. Mallowan at Tell Brak in the Ḫabur region provides the evidence (Pl. VII, 2). This vase, modelled to represent a bearded man wearing a feathered helmet bound with a chin-strap, is associated by its shape with the Hurrian ware of Atchana and Billa of about 1500 B.C. and illustrates exactly the prototype of the later headdress of the Philistines.[3] Some such conclusion is irresistible as that in this piece of ivory (and probably in other pieces also[4]) we have Mycenean craftsmen working for Hurrian masters, who had themselves inserted in the picture.

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[1] *Les Découvertes de Ras Shamra*, 40.

[2] Especially in the neighbourhood of Carchemish and Marash. Stelae from Marash, Garstang, *Hittite Empire*, 224, fig. 18 ; 231, fig. 20 ; *Reallex. d. vorg.*, VII, pl. clxiv ; at Carchemish, Hogarth, *Carchemish*, I, 5, f. 3: Woolley, *Carchemish*, II, pls. Bxix–xxi ; Stela from Bir, *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, VII, 250. Cf. too, the moon symbol on the stela of Bar-rekub. Garstang, *op. cit.*, 238, fig. 23.

[3] Götze, *Hethiter, Churriter und Assyrer*, 85.

[1] Scale corslet from Nuzi, c. 1500 B.C.: Pfeiffer, *Report of the Smithsonian Institute*, 1935, 555. Another charioteer with scale armour: design on chariot of Thothmes III. Wreszinski, *Atlas z. altägyptischen Kulturgeschichte*, II, 1.

[2] One is worn by the Teshub from Senjirli, Garstang, *Hittite Empire*, pl. xlv.

[3] *Illustrated London News*, 15th January, 1938, reproduced here by kind permission of Mr. Mallowan. It is not clear whether the head on the Phaistos disk usually ascribed to Anatolia is a feathered headdress, or a *crested* helmet, such as were said to have been invented by the Carians: it is our earliest example in either case. The feathered headdress next appears worn by the Philistines, long thought connected with Southern Anatolia; by mercenaries in Assyrian sculptures, Layard, *Monuments of Nineveh*, X; by a bowman on a bronze axe from Luristan, Godard, *Les Bronzes de Luristan*, pl. lxix; by Persian soldiers on sculptures from Persepolis; while Herodotus, 7, 92, informs us it was worn by the Lycians.

It need cause no surprise to find feathers represented in stylized fashion by triangular spikes. On a Phrygian sherd a sphinx wears what is apparently meant for the feathered headdress, to judge from the fact that it is elsewhere in Oriental art often worn by sphinxes: in this Phrygian example the feathers are indicated by spikes (*von der Osten*, the Alishar Huyuk, Part III, fig. 73).

[4] E.g., the gold bowl from Ras Shamra, *Syria*, 1934, 301. In addition to the ivories of this group above, I have references to others. (i) From Egypt. Furniture leg? Combat of a lion and griffin. Dussaud, *Mélanges Glotz*, I, 1932. (ii) Sakkara. Bird's-nest-shaped bowl. A lioness and griffin stalking deer and goat amongst riverside jungle, in low relief. Puchstein, *Archäologischer*

II

We have drawn a picture of several different schools of ivory carving coexisting in the thirteenth and twelfth centuries, namely, the Phoenician, the Mycenean, the Northern Syrian, and the Hittite. They were some of the facets of a brilliant age which was already coming to an end amid confusion, to make way for a fresh scene. When the curtain rises again, the empires of Mycenae and the Hittites have crumbled away and the power of Egypt has greatly shrunken. Syria, Phoenicia, and Palestine, free from the pressure of their once powerful neighbours, snatch a brief breathing space of independence. Anatolian rulers form a fresh kingdom called by the Assyrians "Great Hatti," embracing North Syria from the Euphrates to the sea, comprising many smaller principalities.[1] Its capital at Carchemish has been partly excavated, from which we find that the official script in use there was now that called by modern scholars the "Hittite hieroglyphics." Phoenicia, too, by controlling the Mediterranean carrying trade, has become a great maritime power.

What then of our schools of ivory-carving in this new world? The North Syrian school reasserts itself, and has inherited what survives of the Mycenean tradition, but in many points it is new. The principal collection is that found by

Anzeiger (*Jahrbuch d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.*), 1891. Persson, *Dendra*, 46, fig. 27. From Syria: (i) Ras Shamra. Figure of seated goat, in the round. Thureau-Dangin, *Arslan Tash*, pl. xliii, 84. From Phoenicia: (i) Amrit. A duck. De Ridder, *Collection de Clercq*, IV, pl. xl, 199. From Palestine: (i) Megiddo. Rectangular panel; a griffin with extended wings, in low relief. *Illustrated London News*, 23rd October, 1937. I owe this observation to Prof. Wace. (ii) Megiddo. Comb. A goat caught by a hound, in low relief. Ibidem. From Cyprus, apart from the Enkomi collection: (i) Roundel. A cow looking over her shoulder, Bossert, *The Art of Greece*, pls. cclxvi, ccccl xxxviii. From Greece, a good selection is published in Bossert, *The Art of Ancient Greece*, pls. xxxvi–xl. There are also to be noted (i) from Mycenae (tomb of Clytemnestra) two mirror handles: two women in palm trees. Low relief. *Annual of the British School at Athens*, XXV, 369, pl. lix; (ii) from Midea. Pyxis. Bulls and human figure, in low relief. Persson, *Dendra*, fig. 36; (iii) from Attica. Pyxis and other objects. Lolling, *Das Kuppelgrab bei Menidi*; (iv) from Ialysos, two lions standing on an altar. Unpublished, in Rhodes Museum.

[1] According to Delaporte, *Les Hittites*, 316, it embraced Tabal, Milid, Ḫilakku, Mushki, Gurgum, Que, Sam'al, Aleppo, Hattina and Hamath. This is very largely the area in which the Hittite hieroglyphics are found.

W. K. Loftus in 1854 at Nimrud,[1] consisting of objects of the most diverse shapes. There are especially to be mentioned, cylindrical pyxides and free-standing female figures which apparently crowned the tops of staves, often standing on a cushion-like type of capital peculiar to Northern Syria[2] (Pl. VIII, 1, 2). A recent find at Tell Tainat near Antioch of a portion of a stone throne inscribed with hieroglyphics[3] (Pl. VIII, 3), goes to show that this type of capital, and hence this group of Nimrud ivories, belongs properly to the area in North Syria characterized originally by the official use of the " Hittite " hieroglyphics. I that say originally, because it would appear from inscriptions on these ivories that at the actual source of the ivories and among their makers the Aramaic dialect and script had already intruded themselves, ousting the " Hittite " hieroglyphics, as we know them to have done at Senjirli and at Hamath by the eighth century B.C. The shapes and themes of this school remain chiefly the same as in the Bronze Age. That is of course chiefly because the survival of the same native legends and beliefs has prescribed to the craftsman the same subjects for illustration, and the recurrence of at least two shapes (cylindrical pyxis and bird's nest bowl) is probably dictated by the survival of the same daily needs. We notice, too, how in the more familiar themes such as the chariot hunt, or the fight with the griffin, these latter-day successors of the Mycenean-Syrian school seek timidly to use many of the same devices of draughtsmanship and methods of representation which their predecessors had employed. The horses gallop stretched out, the charioteer cranes forward (Pl. IX, 2), the griffin throws his head back in agony (Pl. IX, 1), and the sphinx spreads out her ample wings.[4] Great technical ability, the usual feature of the patient Oriental's work, is of course displayed. But what can it offer in compensation for the loss of convincing movement and life ? In comparison with those from Enkomi, the Nimrud figures are empty puppets.

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[1] R. D. Barnett, *Iraq*, 1935.

[2] At Senjirli, Von Luschan, *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli*, IV, pl. liii ; II, pl. xxxiii and p. 196 ff ; at Tell Tainat, *American Journal of Archaeology*, 1937, 15, fig. 8, and at Carchemish, Woolley, *Carchemish*, II, figs. 60 and 61.

[3] At Tell Tainat, *American Journal of Archaeology*, *loc. cit.*, fig. 12.

[4] Barnett, *Iraq*, 1935, 190, fig. 3. The action reproduces that of the earlier example from Megiddo noted above, p. 9 : and is that of the cherub described below.

The independence of North Syria was already compromised in the ninth century. Its brief greatness, built on the control of the trade-routes down the Euphrates or across the Ḫabur to Mesopotamia, was held by Assyria to be incompatible with her own security. With Shalmaneser's conquest of Bit-Adini the Syrian frontier retreated to Carchemish. Union of the Syrians with the Aramaeans bought no halt in the advance of their common enemy. In 849 Carchemish was captured and became an Assyrian colony, an event which is probably reflected in the style of sculpture of the new bastion in the reliefs at Carchemish.[1] In 834 the remainder of Great Hatti was outflanked by the reduction of Que and Tabal to Assyrian vassalage. The process of subjection was completed under Tiglath-pileser with the fall of Arpad (740), the annexation of Unqi (739), Hamath (720), Ḫilakku, Milid and Tabal (714), Kummuh (708) and Gurgŭm (711). These encroachments of Assyria are duly mirrored in the local styles of sculpture, at Senjirli in Hilani III, at Sakje-gözü, at Tell-Tainat, which show an increasing adaptation to Assyrian influences. With the loss of independence the native art mostly petered out, and gave way to the Assyrian except where as at Senjirli under Barrekub it was superseded by the degenerate Aramaean style.

The Phoenicians at first doubtless stood to gain from the progressive weakening and final elimination of wealthy business rivals. Though their satisfaction was to be short-lived, their trade seems to have reached great heights during the eighth century B.C. Their exports are found in many parts of Greece and the West, and their influence in various ways caused a revolution in Greek art and Greek craftsmanship, the results of which are still felt in Europe to-day. Four places in Asia have so far produced collections of Phoenician ivories—Nimrud, Khorsabad, Arslan Tash, and Samaria,[2] the first two showing that they ministered to Assyrian as well as Greek taste ; while in the West stray pieces have been found in Cyprus, Rhodes, Corinth, Crete, and perhaps in Athens and in Etruria.

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[1] Woolley, *Carchemish*, I, pls. B iv–viii.

[2] The references are given above on p. 4.

Their successful distribution was perhaps as greatly due to the energy of the salesmen as to the intrinsic excellence of the goods. Though technically skilful, they have less merit in our eyes than the products of the North Syrian school, being quite void of originality. They run as ever exactly true to their form in the previous thirteenth century B.C., when the tradition was laid down of conforming closely to Egyptian models. There are, however, two especial points of interest about their " Egyptization," which deserve notice. The first is that this adaptation to Egyptian models has become archaistic, that the models imitated are not those of the Egypt of the day, but of the great Imperial Egypt of the past, under which the process of assimilation was established. The proper parallel to the panels from Nimrud of the ninth or eighth century[1] (Pl. X) with their polychrome inlays and cloisonné technique, is to be sought in the brilliant metalwork pectorals of the eighteenth dynasty from Luxor and Dahshur.[2] This archaistic tendency is less surprising inasmuch as we find soon afterwards in Egypt itself a phase growing up of which an admiration and a reverent copying of former splendours are the characteristic features.

The second point to be observed is that in spite of appearances the paraphernalia of Egyptian religious symbolism in these Phoenician works of art is neither meaningless filling up of space, nor evidence that Egyptian cults had replaced Phoenician. The native Semitic cults still persist but are represented in Egyptian fashion. The chief worships of Phoenicia were cults of Ashtart and her consort, related to the Babylonian Tammuz. The details of these cults are little known, but we know that the worship of a symbolic tree formed part of them.

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[1] The dating of these is still a little vague ; they are rightly compared on the one hand to the ivories from Samaria, usually attributed to Ahab (ninth century), and Arslan Tash (ninth century), but also to those found at Khorsabad (eighth century) and in the Bernardini tomb at Praeneste (seventh century).

[2] Schäfer and Andrae, *Die Kunst des Alten Orients*, pl. cclxvi. Boreux *Antiquités Egyptiennes du Louvre*, pl. xlvii. The same kind of works of art was at the same date greatly admired and cleverly imitated in Byblos, Montet, *Byblos et l'Egypte*, pl. xciv, and Chéhab, *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth*, I.

The griffins clambering in the sacred tree and nibbling its fruits (Pl. X) are a frequent subject in the ivories. In other pieces the tree takes other forms. Now it is an Egyptian ded[1] ; now a gigantic lotus, saluted by a prince[2] ; now a stylized palm guarded by human figures.[3] Sometimes this form of palm was guarded by sphinxes superficially like Egyptian types but different in being of feminine gender.

We are reminded by this motif of palm and sphinxes of the cherubim appointed to guard the Tree of Life in the Garden of Eden (Gen. iii, 24). It was at any rate in this form with sphinxes that this half-heathen subject stole its way even into the Temple at Jerusalem. In the one case it was to be seen on the door-leaves of the temple, in the form of " cherubim and palm trees and open flowers." In another more celebrated passage, the description of the two cherubim over the Ark of the Temple, we have an account of similar sphinxes. This time, however, there is no mention of the tree. The sphinxes, however, are described in sufficient detail to be recognizable, and their posture can be reconstructed.[4] It corresponds exactly to that of an ivory sphinx from Arslan Tash, facing, with wings deployed[5] (pl. XI, 1). The only difference is that the sphinxes or cherubim of the Ark were standing,[6] and not, as here, sitting. A pair of such figures, of colossal size and gilded, evidently stood like a kind of wall, wing tip to wing tip, right across the width of the Temple.[1] Traces of gilding occur among the ivories from Nimrud also.

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[1] Unpublished, from Nimrud.

[2] Barnett, *Iraq*, 1935, pl. xxiii, 4.

[3] Barnett, *Iraq*, *loc. cit.*, 2.

[4] 1 Kings, vi, 1 : " And in the oracle he made two cherubim of olive wood, each ten cubits high. And five cubits was the wing of the cherub, and five cubits the other wing of the cherub. From the uttermost part of the one wing to the uttermost part of the other wing was ten cubits. And the other cherub was ten cubits : both the cherubim were of one measure and one form. The height of the cherub was ten cubits and so was it of the other cherub." . . . . " And the wings of the cherubim were stretched out so that the wing of the one touched the one wall and the wing of the other cherub touched the other wall. And their wings touched one another in the middle of the house. And he covered the cherubs with gold."

[5] Thureau-Dangin and others, *Arslan Tash*, pl. xxi. Reproduced by kind permission of the author and M. Paul Geuthner.

[6] 2 Chronicles ii, 3, 14, ". . . and they stood upon their feet, and their faces were towards the house."

This Phoenician school does not seem to have survived its Northern competitor for long. Though isolated pieces of Phoenician ivory are later found, it is obvious that both the output and the quality of the school's products were impaired. An unguent-vessel of the end of the sixth century from Sidon is made no longer of ivory but bone, a cheaper substitute (Pl. XI, 2). Its style is clumsy. The same reasons doubtless lay behind the failure of the Phoenician school as in the case of the North Syrian school: the depletion of the herds of elephants, for which supplies of African ivory by way of Egypt and N. Africa were not able entirely to compensate, and eventual Assyrian oppression. Although Tyre succeeded in surviving their exactions and sieges, Sidon was sacked and crushed by Esarhaddon. The devastation of one of the two leading cities of Phoenicia marks a turning-point in Phoenician history from which it appears not to have completely recovered. The opportunities of trade which it left free were seized by others.

It remains to speculate what may have become of the third great school of ivory-carving of the Bronze Age which we noticed, that of the Hittites. It may well be that it was not completely extinguished when the Hittite Empire disappeared. An ivory stamp[2] found in the Phrygian level at Boghaz-köy is closely like another included among the remarkable Greek ivories from Ephesus.[3] It may well be that a native school of Anatolian ivory carvers survived and, preserving the tradition of delicate modelling which was to be seen in the previous period in the example on Pl. VI, 2, exerted an influence on those surprising figures from Ephesus.[4] Per-

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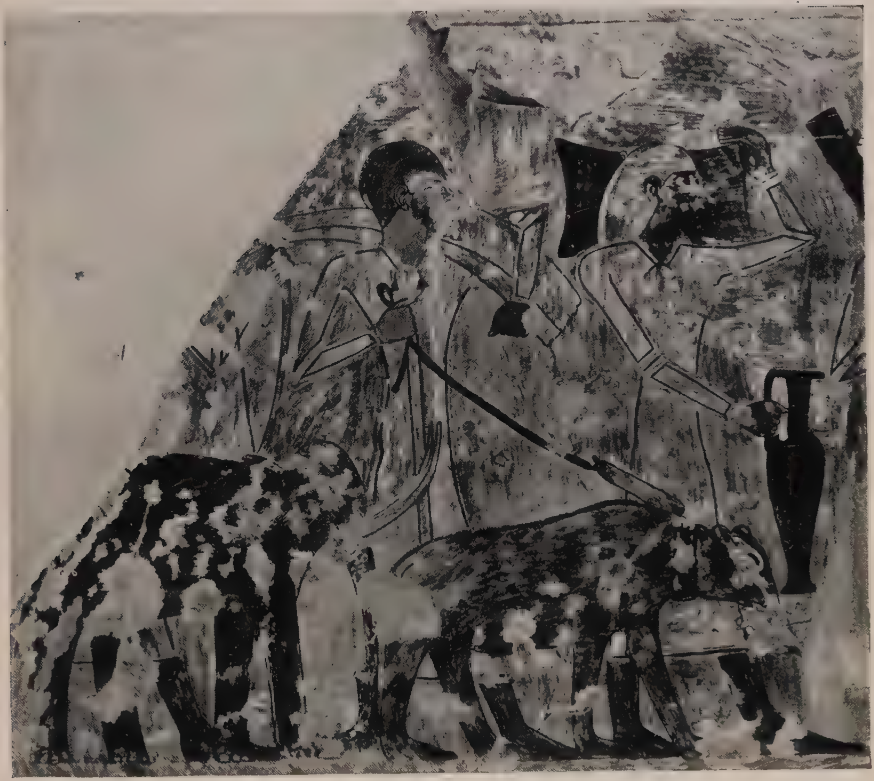
[1] The origin of the cherub is almost certainly rightly sought in Mesopotamia: *cf.* akkad. *kāribu*, interceding-deities, representations of whom were set up in temples like the *lamassu* gateway figures. Dhorme and Vincent, *Revue Biblique*, 1936. Landsberger, *Das "gute" wort*, in *Altoriental.-Studien Bruno Meissner . . . gewidmet*. It exemplifies once more how in Phoenicia a basically Semitic idea is carried out in Egyptian-looking guise.

[2] Bittel and Güterbock, Bogaz-köy, *Abh. Preuss. Akad. Wiss.* 1935. *ph.-hist. klasse.*

[3] Hogarth, *British Museum Excavations at Ephesus*, pl. xxvii, 3.

[4] Hogarth, *op. cit.*



SCENE WITH A SYRIAN ELEPHANT, FROM THE TOMB OF REKHMIRE, THEBES

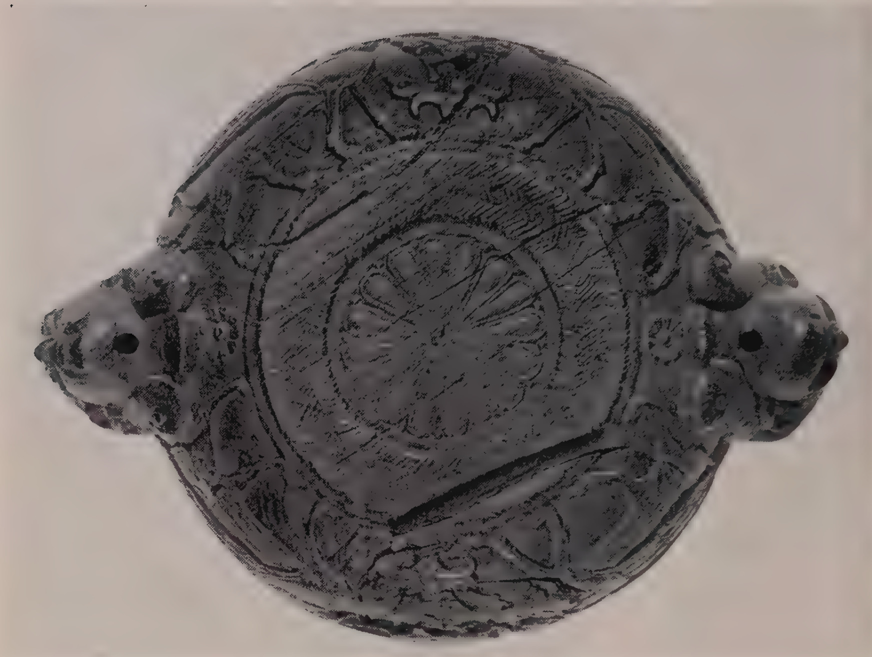


FIG. 1. UNGUENT BOWL, OF WOOD, XVIIITH DYNASTY

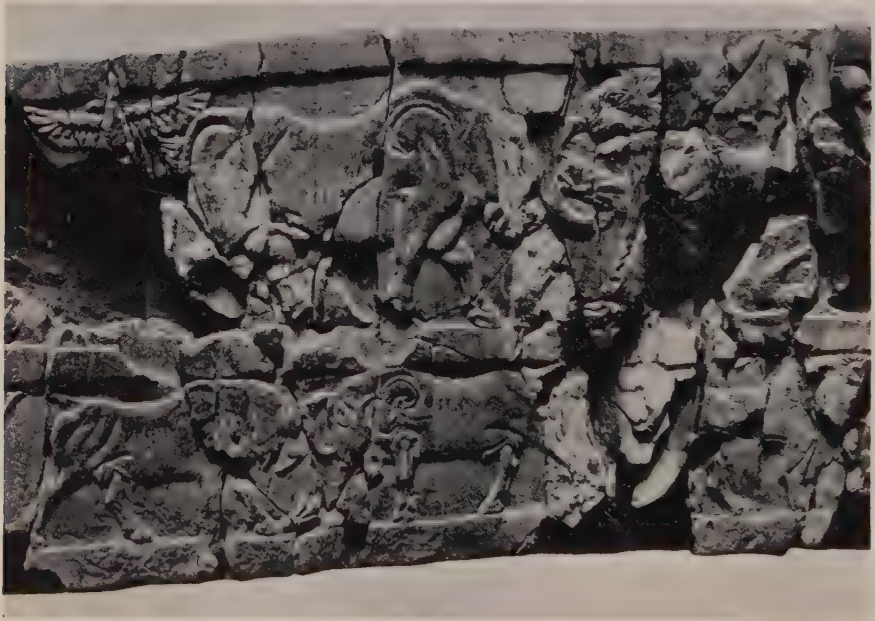


FIG. 2. CYLINDRICAL PYXIS FROM TELL DUWEIR, 14TH CENTURY B.C.

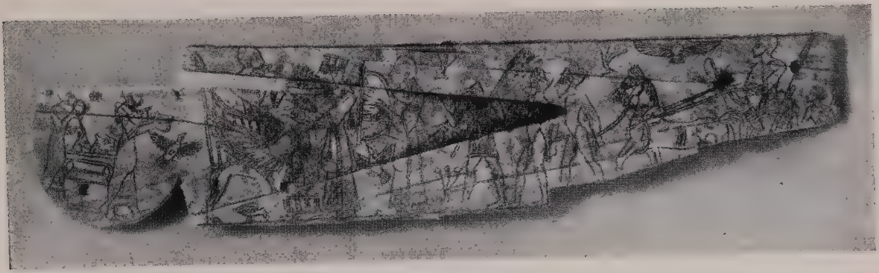
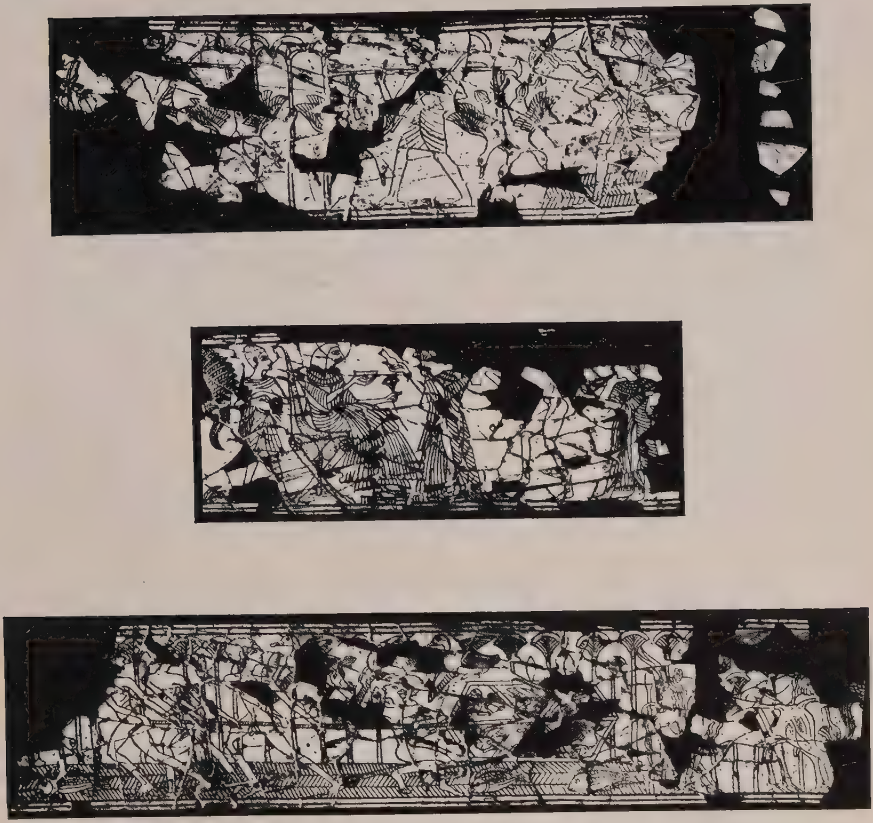


FIG. I. IVORY PLAQUE FROM MEGIDDO



FIGS. 2, 3, 4. PANELS FROM TELL EL-FAR'E, 13TH CENTURY B.C.

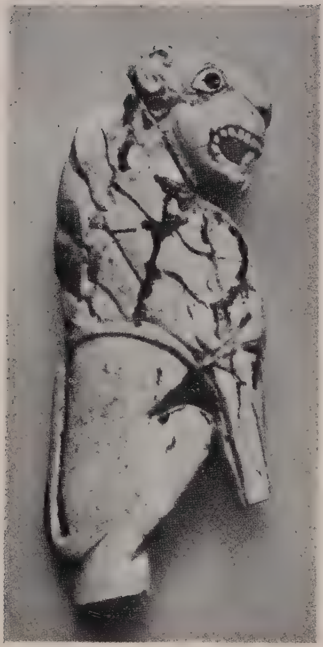


FIG. 1. FIGURE OF A LION

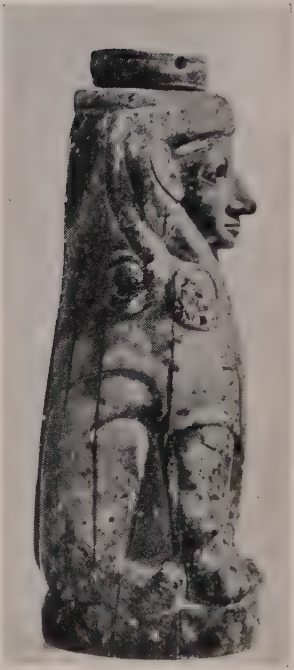


FIG. 2. UNGUENT POT IN FORM OF A SPHINX

BOTH PROBABLY FROM N. SYRIA, 13–12TH CENTURY B.C.

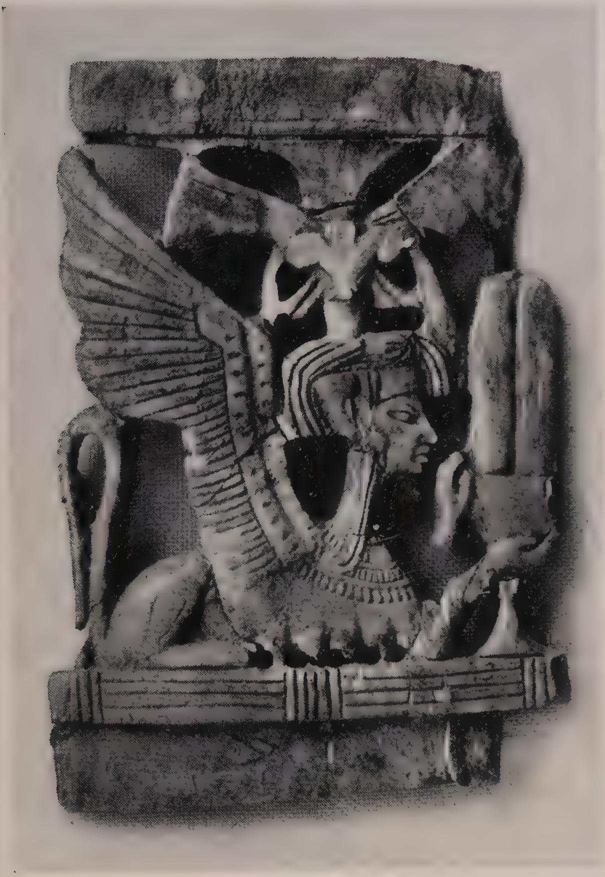


FIG. 1. OPEN WORK PLAQUE FROM MEGIDDO
13–12TH CENTURY B.C.

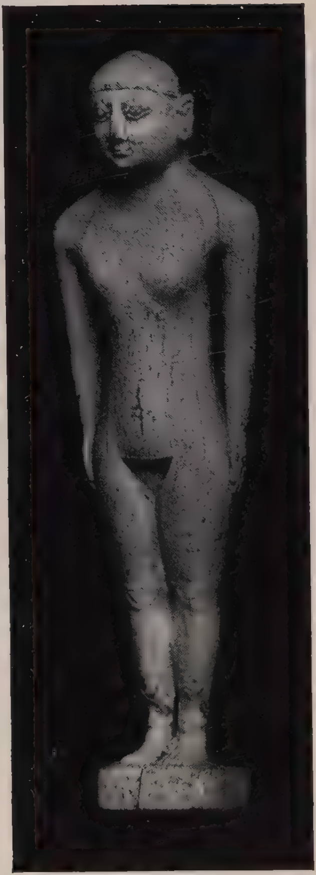


FIG. 2. FIGURE OF A WOMAN, 13TH CENTURY B.C. ? 4¾ IN. HIGH. B.M. 38185

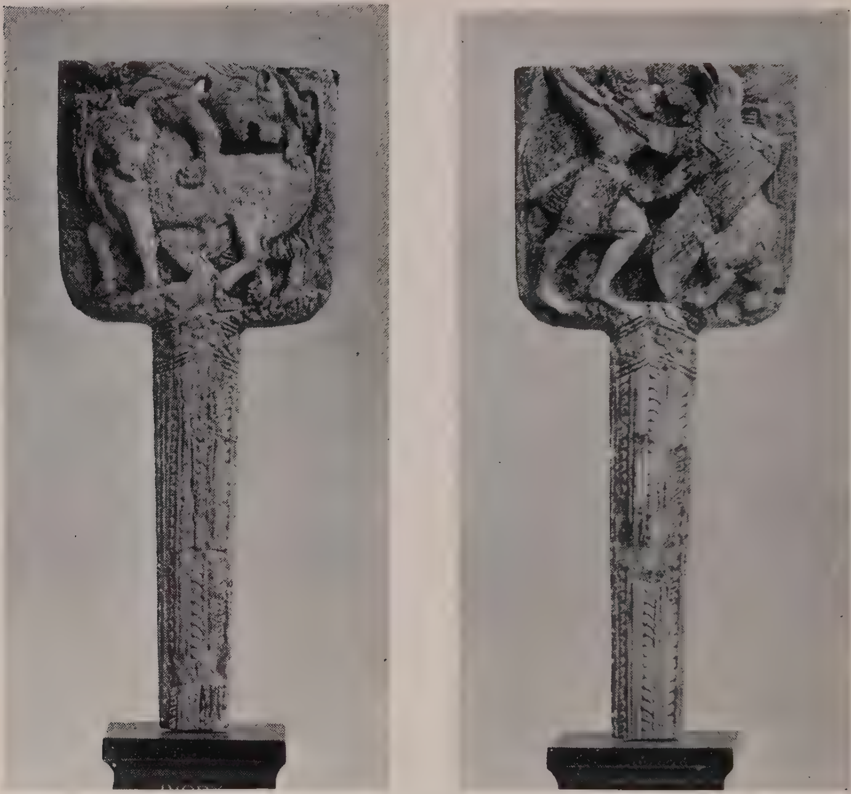
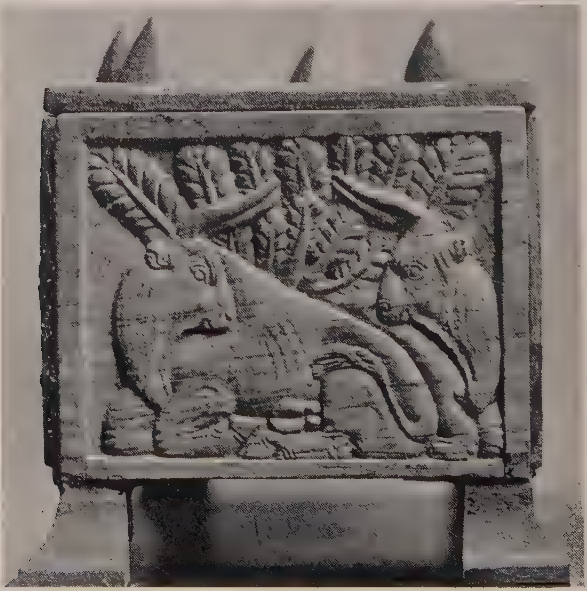


FIG. 1. MIRROR HANDLE FROM ENKOMI, CYPRUS. TWO VIEWS. 13TH CENTURY B.C.
8 IN. HIGH



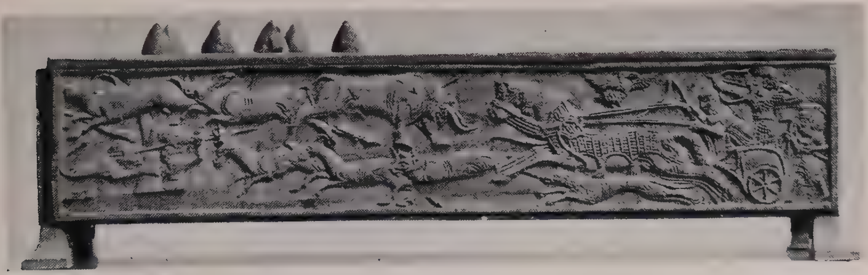


FIG. 1. GAMING BOX FROM ENKOMI, CYPRUS. 3 IN. HIGH

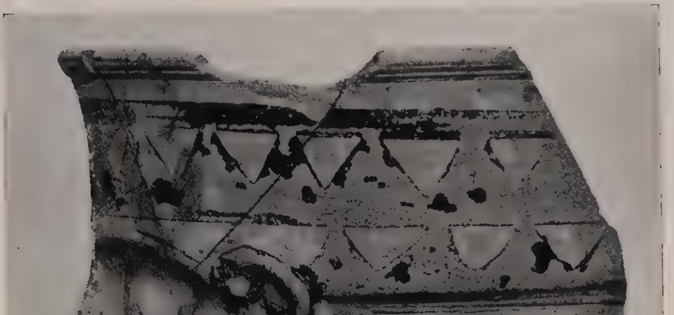


FIG. 2. FACE-VASE AKIN TO THE "HURRIAN" WARE, FROM TELL BRAK, CIRC. 1500 B.C.

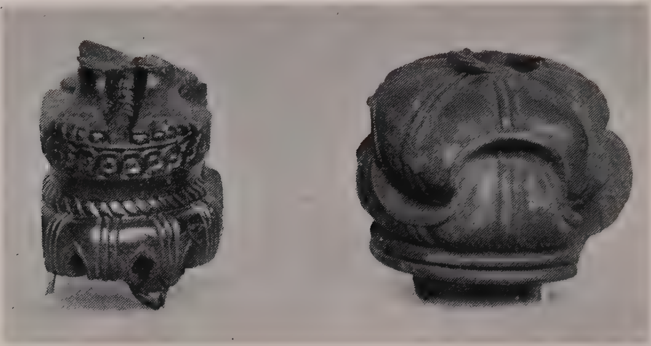


FIG. 1. ORNAMENTS FROM THE TOPS OF STAVES, NIMRUD, 9TH CENTURY B.C.

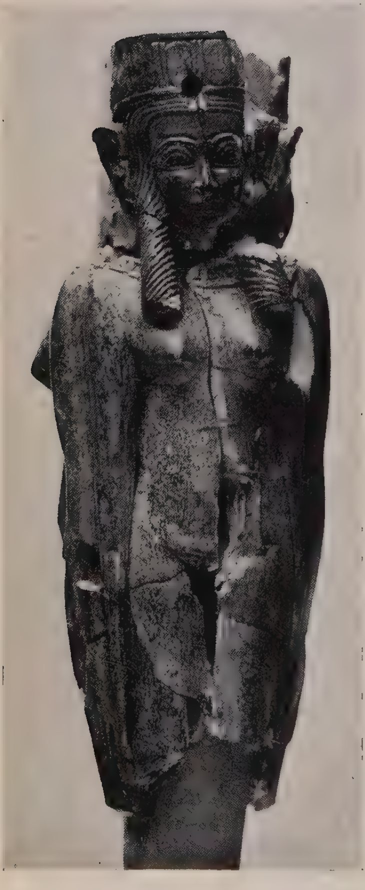


FIG. 2. ONE VIEW OF A GROUP OF FIGURES, FROM NIMRUD, 9TH CENTURY B.C. 5 IN. HIGH

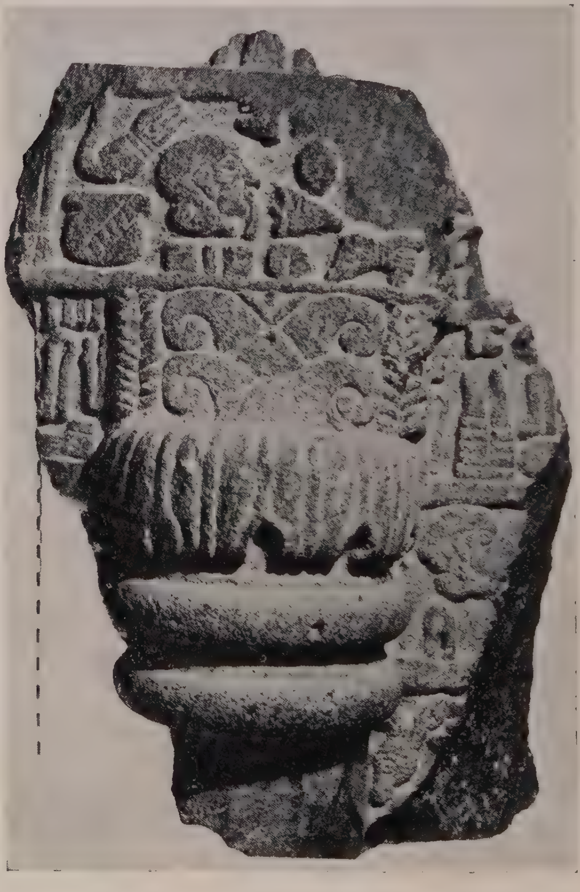


FIG. 3. PART OF A BASALT THRONE, FROM TELL JAINAT, 9TH CENTURY B.C.

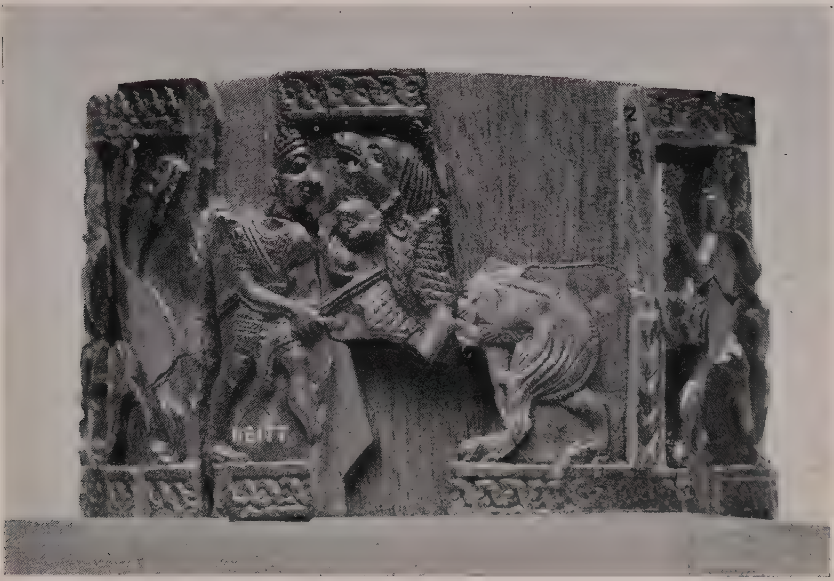


FIG. 1. PYXIS, WITH SCENE OF A MAN SLAYING A GRIFFIN, NIMRUD, 9TH CENTURY B.C.

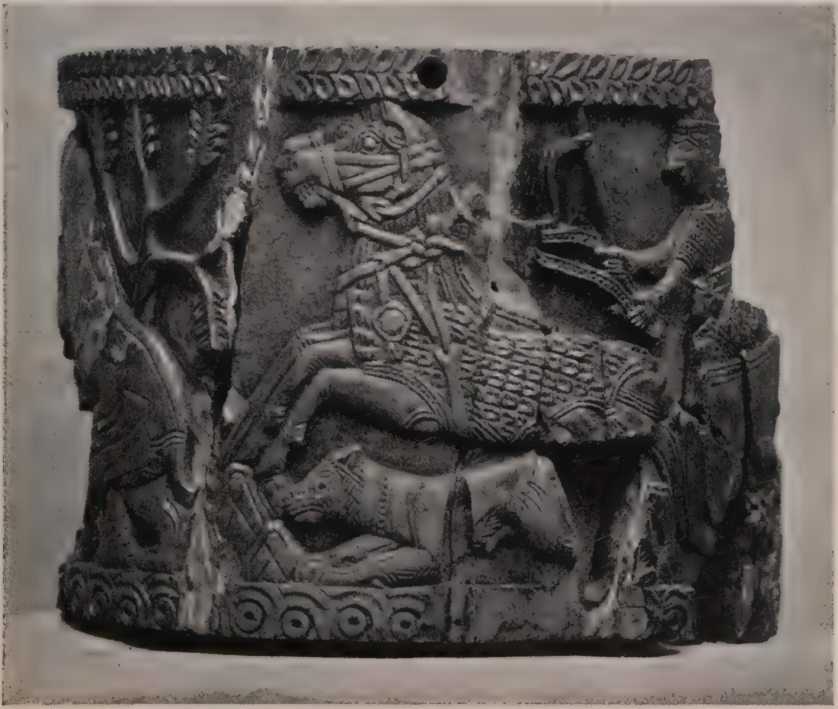
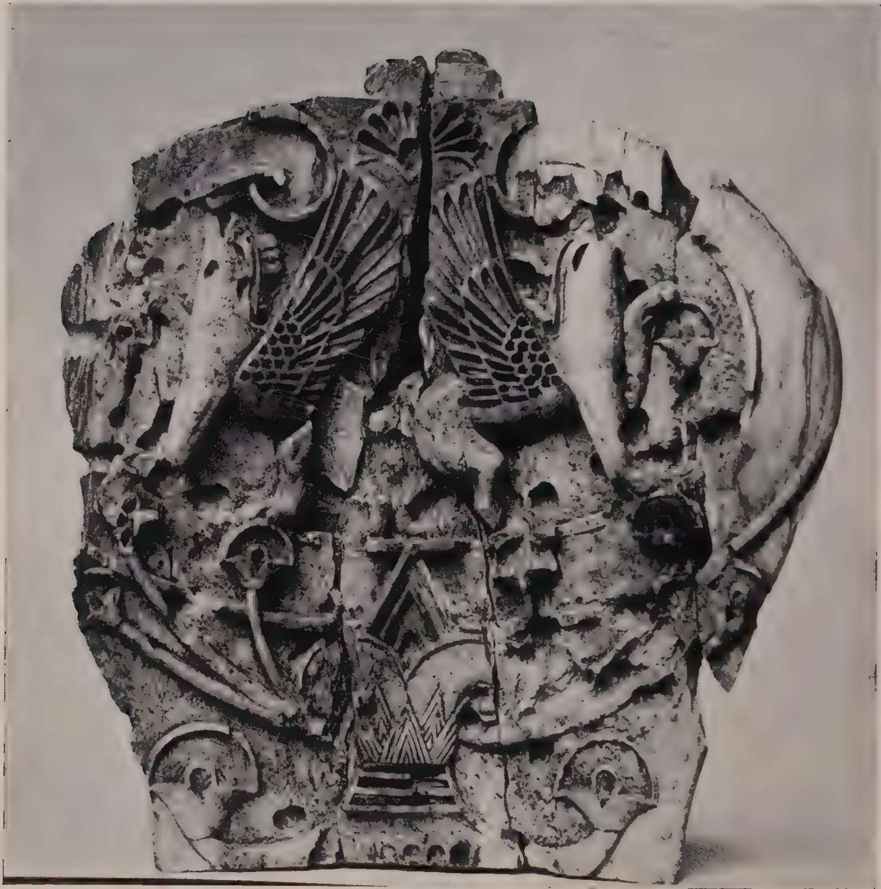


FIG. 2. PYXIS, WITH A LION-HUNTING SCENE, NIMRUD, 9TH CENTURY B.C.



CURVED PANEL WITH GRIFFINS IN A SACRED TREE, NIMRUD, 9TH CENTURY B.C.
5¾ IN. HIGH. B.M. 118162

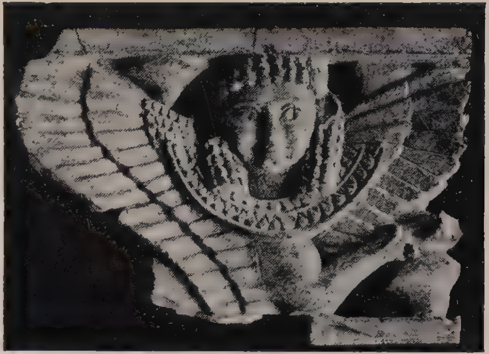


FIG. 1. PANEL FROM ARSLAN TASH, 9TH CENTURY B.C. $2\frac{1}{4}$ IN. HIGH

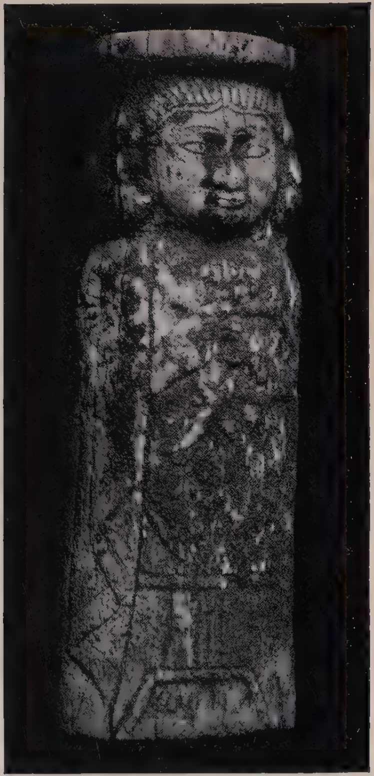


FIG. 2. BONE UNGUENT POT FROM SIDON, LATE 6TH CENTURY B.C. 7 IN. HIGH

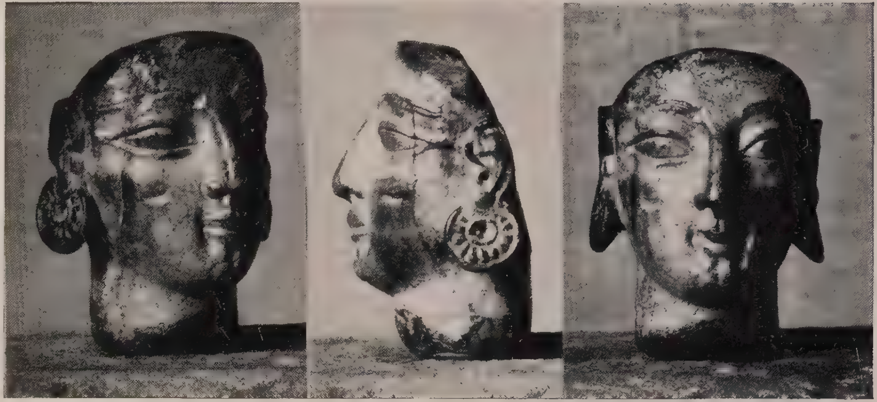


FIG. 3. HEAD FROM SARDIS, 7TH CENTURY B.C. $1\frac{1}{2}$ IN. HIGH

haps this was in Phrygia or in Lydia. In the latter Homer indeed had seen girls at work employed in staining ivory cheek-pieces or blinkers for horses.[1] At Sardis, too, the Lydian capital, a remarkable piece was found by the American excavators, representing the face of a woman wearing large rosette-shaped earrings, and having a curious notch in each cheek, presumably meant for a cicatrization or tattoo-mark. It was from a statue of composite materials, and probably belongs to the seventh century B.C.[2] (Pl. XI, 3).

But we have now reached the limit of our survey, and to go farther in tracing the influences of Hittite or Phoenician craftsmen would mean entering on other provinces of art and to outrun the evidence of material at present known. Homer again, our " savio Maestro," himself warns us to turn back and remember that ivory is one of those substances beautiful and luxurious, which leads men the way to many treacherous illusions :

Δοιαὶ γήρ τε πύλαι ἀμενηνῶν εἰσιν ὀνείρων.
Αἱ μὲν γὰρ κεράεσσι τετεύχαται, αἱ δ᾽ ἐλέφαντι·
Τῶν οἷ μέν κ᾽ ἔλθωσι διὰ πριστοῦ ἐλέφαντος
Οἱ δ᾽ ἐλεφαίρονται, ἔπε᾽ ἀκράαντα φέροντες.[3]

Let us hope this will not be our fate.

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[1] Il. 4, 141.

[2] Curtis, *Excavations at Sardis*, Vol. xiii, pl. viii, 87. I am enabled here to reproduce it from original photographs by the courtesy of Professor T. Leslie Shear.

[3] Od. 19, 565. " For our feeble dreams have twofold doorways. One is wrought of horn, and the other of ivory. And those dreams which come through the sawn ivory mislead, bearing a tale that is not fulfilled."

THE LACHISH OSTRACA I

By S. Birnbaum

The edition of the Lachish Ostraca is a work of great merit, showing Professor Torczyner's wide learning and ingenuity. He himself, however, expresses the hope that the future may bring further researches and discussion towards clarifying what is obscure. The first part of our essay deals with the problem as to the connection between the documents and is partly based on the results of the second part, which consists of palaeographic and other notes.

I. The Connection between the Documents

Two main lines of investigation are here followed: An examination of the external characteristics of the ostraca (the writing and the material of the sherds) and a comparison of their contents. The former allows us to make some use of the small fragments, too, while our comparison of the contents is virtually confined to a few tolerably well preserved sherds, containing a fair amount of text.

The Scribes

Ostracon i.

Three letters in this ostracon differ from their representatives in nearly all the other sherds: Nūn, Yodh and to some extent Beth. Nūn consists of three strokes, the two top strokes forming a sharp angle. The Yodh ends in a sharp angle towards the right. Beth in most cases has a small base.

These features are characteristic of an older stage of development, as can be seen from the corresponding forms of the Samaria Ostraca. This does not, however, imply that Ostracon i cannot be contemporaneous with our other sherds. The older forms can be explained as elements of a more elaborate style embedded in the general cursive style. These more elaborate forms agree, of course, with those of epigraphic style. Apart from these features the writing of Ostracon i does not differ in type from that of the other ostraca and they do not therefore, suggest the existence of an elaborate style of writing, side by side with the plain cursive. Only such an assumption would make it theoretically possible to connect Ostracon i with the other sherds because then it could have been written by one of their scribes.

Ostracon ii.

It would follow from the foregoing observations that the writing of this document differs from that of Ostracon i. As to its relation to the other sherds, see nos. iii, ff.

Ostracon iii.

It is written by another hand than i and ii. This is clear from the difference in the way the lines deviate from parallelism, in slant and in the form of every letter. Contrast, e.g., Zayin (ii, 4, and iii, 18), Mem (ii, 3, and iii, 20), Resh (ii, 4, and iii, 21), Ayin (ii, 3, and iii, 20), &c.

Ostracon iv.

The writing differs from that of i to iii in the deviation of the lines from parallelism, in slant and in the form of the letters. Ctr., e.g., Aleph : in iii it has long cross strokes, near each other, in iv they are short and wide apart ; for Nūn ctr. ii, 1, and iv, 4, for Zayin ii, 4, and iv, 12, for Waw ii, 2, and iv, 2, &c.

Ostracon v.

The hand of this sherd, too, differs from the preceding ones. Contrast, besides the general characteristics, e.g., Hē (ii, 2, and v, 9), Samekh (iii, 19, iv, 6, 9, and v, 6), &c.

Ostracon vi.

In comparing this sherd with the others we shall pay special attention to Ostracon ii, as it comes from the same pot, and to iii, as Torczyner thinks the hands of iii and vi closely resemble each other.

As to the deviation of lines from parallelism : In ii there is a tendency for them to droop downwards just at first but to become horizontally parallel afterwards ; on the right where they droop, the lines are narrower than on the left. In Ostracon vi, on the other hand, the lines run practically straight. The difference between thin and thick strokes seems to be more marked in ii than in vi. The triangle Resh of ii has a sharp angle at the left and is wide, while that of vi is much narrower across and less pointed. Mem of ii, 3, has two distinct narrow top angles, the whole upper region of the letter is pointed, while in vi, 2, the top consists of an indistinct bow formation. The tops of the Waws are very different : in ii the top consists of a small thick slanting stroke going from right to left, which is met half-way by a small stroke coming from the left. The first-mentioned of these lines goes to the top of the shaft. In vi this line is thin and lies right across the top of the shaft, sticking out on both sides. Thus, in spite of its bad state of preservation, and the fact that there are, on the other hand, similarities between ii and vi—the group של and the form of Zayin—it appears that these two ostraca were not written by the same hand.

The slant is different in iii and vi, which is very clear, e.g., in the case of Lamedh. As to forms, it is enough to point out the great difference between the Zayin in iii, 13, and vi, 2, 10, the Mem in iii, 18–21, and vi, 2, the Qoph in iii, 18, and vi, 7.

In comparing iv with vi, see the shape of the Lamedh, which in iv is angular or curved, the top being much thicker than the bottom, while in vi it is rather straight and of more even thickness. Ctr. also Mem (iv, 11, and vi, 2), Samekh (iv, 6, and vi, 4), Qoph (iv, 9, and vi, 7), &c.

Finally for v and vi it will suffice to contrast the specific form of Samekh in v, 6, with that in vi, 4, so also Zayin of v, 10, with vi, 2, 10.

As a result of these comparisons we can state that Ostracon vi was not written by one of the hands of Ostraca i to v.

Ostracon vii.

Of this nearly effaced sherd, only a few letters are legible. The writing seems to differ from that of the rest of the ostraca, ctr., e.g., Beth (ii, 4, and vi, 6, and vii, 6), Shin (ii, 1, and vii, 6).

Ostracon viii.

The obverse of this sherd offers even less material for comparison. If those traces which are still visible were originally signs in the same writing as the word on the reverse, then there is certainly no similarity between the writing of our sherd and that of the others from the same pot, because the Yodh and Nūn of the reverse correspond to the type (but not the hand) of Ostracon i.

Ostracon ix.

The writing differs from that of the other ostraca, contrast, e.g., Mem (i, 1, 4, 5, and ix, 1, 2), Hē (iii, 17–21, and iv, 1–13, and ix, 1), Resh (ii, 5, and v, 10, and vi, 13, and ix, 8), Shin (vii, 6, and ix, 8), Yodh (viii, obv. 2, and ix, 1).

Ostracon xi.

To judge from the Samekh of line 5, it is written by another hand than iii, iv, v, vi.

Ostracon xvi.

Written by a different hand from the preceding sherds; contrast, e.g., the Mem of line 1 with that sign in i, 1, 5, in ii, 3, in iii, 18–21, in iv, 2, 11, in v, 3, in vi, 2, in vii, 6, and in ix, 2.

Ostracon xvii.

The writing of this sherd reminds one of that of Ostracon i. The Beth in line 1 has a distinct base, the Yodh in line 2 has a bottom hook, the Nūns in lines 2 and 3 have an angular top part. It is written, however, by a different hand.

Ostracon xviii.

The writing differs from that of the other sherds, including those from the same pot. Contrast, e.g., Resh with that letter in i, 1, in ii, 6, in iii, 19, in iv, 11, in v, 10, in vi, 13, in viii, 5, in ix, 8, in xiii, 2, in xvi, 4; Ayin with that letter in xiii, 1, and in xvii, 1.

Result.

The result of the foregoing comparisons is unfortunately negative: we have not been able to establish any connection between the ostraca in regard to their senders, as they all seem to be written by different hands. If we accepted Torczyner's theory that with the exception of xiii, the letters originate from one man, Hoshaiah, then so much at least would follow from our results: that most of them would have to date from rather different times since we can hardly imagine that the commander of a little place would have a great choice of secretaries at one and the same time.

The Material of the Sherds

The Description of the Potsherds, given by Mr. Harding, contains the important feature that the sherds ii, vi, vii, viii and xviii come from the same pot. It must, however, be remarked that vii and viii, which were near neighbours in the pot, according to the picture on page 220, differ considerably in the description, while ii and vi, also near neighbours, are described in almost identical terms. As vi, xviii and viii are immediate neighbours, it might be deduced that the letters written on these four sherds emanated from the same place and quite probably, although not necessarily, from the same person.

Of all the other sherds only iv and v are described in nearly identical terms. But as I have not seen No. iv and no indication is made of their having come from one pot we have no reason to assume the probability of their having a common sender and must leave it at the possibility.

Comparison of the Contents

(*a*) *Formal Elements*

The introductory formulae of the letters supply us with some material. There are three formulae :

אל ארני ···	in ii and vi,
[עבד]ך ··· שלח	in iii,
ישמע יהוה····	in iv, v (?), viii and ix.

Although it is conceivable that one person should use various introductory formulae, it is not very probable. The power of tradition in such things was certainly even stronger in those times than in this highly individualistic age, with its ideal of change, and even we cling rigidly to certain formulae at the beginning and end of official letters. Thus the multiplicity of formulae in the Lachish Letters probably corresponds to a multiplicity of writers (or senders), not less than three but there might have been more as identity of formula does not, of course, denote identity ot authorship.

There is also the possibility that a difference in the formula denotes difference in position or rank in the case of the addressee. This would either mean that the letters have different addressees or that the formula is to be taken to be relative, i.e., that persons of different status wrote to the same man.

(*b*) *Material Elements*

We shall now turn to the matter of the letters.

Ostracon i.

This document consists of a list of names, none of which occur in any of the other sherds. It, therefore, gives no clue as to a possible connection with them.

Ostracon ii.

This letter resembles iii and iv in that it is addressed to one who is obviously the writer's superior in social standing. As it does not deal with a defence of its author against some accusation, it cannot be paralleled in this respect with iii or others.

Ostracon iii.

Like ii, iv and vi in regard to the social relationship between recipient and writer,

like vi in a passage containing an oath and the words קרא and ספר.

The illegibility of the traces and the doubtfulness of Torczyner's conjecture, because it does not fill in the space satisfactorily, do not allow us to accept the name יאוש as a connecting link with ii and vi.

Ostracon iv.

Like ii, iii, v, and vi in regard to social relationship of recipient and writer. In this letter only it seems to be a subordinate writing to one in higher office.

If it is of military contents, which is quite possible, then it would afford a parallel with the preceding one.

There is nothing exculpatory in this letter, to act as a link with iii.

Ostracon v.

Like ii, iii, iv and vi in regard to the relationship of writer to recipient.

No curse or exculpation is there, to link it up with iii.

The improbability that the conjectured סמכיהו is right, robs v of any connection with iv.

Ostracon vi.

Like ii, iii and iv in regard to social relationship of writer and recipient, and

like iii in a passage containing an oath and the words קרא and ספר.

The editor's interpretation of our document being based on improbable and uncertain premisses, there is no connection between this letter and iii.

Ostracon vii.

The conjectured Tobshillem affords no trustworthy link with i.

Ostraca viii and ix.

Nothing in the few signs on these fragments indicates any connection with other sherds.

Ostracon xi.

This fragment may possibly be connected with iv, through the name Semachiah.

Ostracon xii.

It is impossible to connect this fragment with any of the letters.

Ostracon xiii.

It is very improbable that there is a connection between this letter and Ostracon iv through the name Semachiah.

Ostracon xvi.

The existence of the word נבא on this tiny fragment appears to be extremely doubtful, so it cannot be said to supply us with a link with iii.

Ostracon xvii.

As the fragment does not contain the word ירמיהו there is no connection with i.

Ostracon xviii.

The possibility that שלם means Tobshillem, hardly suffices to connect this fragment up with i, and still less with vii.

Inferences

It is not the purpose of this chapter to evolve a new theory as to connection between the documents but to provide material for further research. For the number of uncertainties and cases of doubt arising from Torczyner's readings points not only to the necessity of new explanations and interpretations of detail, but some of them would seem to shake the very basis of his theory about a one-man correspondence, exculpatory in nature and centering around the prophet Uriah. There is in our ostraca no יכבריהו בן אלנתן to suggest the Biblical אלנתן בן עכבור and the story of the prophet Uriah whose name does not occur in the letters—the reading נבא

is improbable in Ostracon xvi and the traces supposed to be הו are illegible.

The theory about the court-martial on Hoshaiah, in connection with Uriah's fate, is also open to objection. What are the charges brought against Hoshaiah? One accusation seems to be connected with his military activities, another with his having cursed the king. Both would be material for court-martialling Hoshaiah. The main charge, however, is that he has done something whereby the prophet Uriah has been endangered. But the danger to Uriah came from the king. Now even if we assume that Ya'ush, as a faithful Jhwh-worshipper, would secretly act against the king's command, in the affair of Uriah, how could he court-martial a subordinate officer or official for doing something he knew to be in conformity with the king's policy? Even if all the other judges had been on his side, would not Hoshaiah have simply appealed to the king for help?[1]

Let us now sum up.

The ostraca were found in one place (except xvi and xvii). It is therefore not improbable that they were received by one person. In the letters ii to vi the formulae of address are more or less preserved and we are entitled to recognize in the recipient a man of some sort of importance. According to ii and vi his name was יאוש. Letters iii and iv would enable us to assume that he was an official, as the text seems to indicate administrative, political or even military contents. The fact that they were probably addressed to one person, gives us no hint, of course, as to the number of senders. From their contents it would be reasonable to connect iii and vi as coming from the same person but it is conceivable that two persons should swear an oath in connection with the same matter, or that one passage is only a quotation from the other. Between iv and xi the name Semachiah is possibly a link. From the formal characteristics of the contents it is possible that ii and vi originated from one source, and iv, v, viii, ix from another source. The letters ii and vi have not only the same addressee and the same introductory formula but they are part of the same pot. These therefore are two ostraca which we can with much probability assume were sent by the same man. In contents they show no connection but this is, of course, not unusual in any way.

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[1] See our short review of the edition, in *BSOS* vol. x.

I should like in conclusion to appropriate Mr. Harding's words : " No doubt there are many with better claims to the title הפקח (the open-eyed) than I have, and we look to them to provide us with fresh food for thought."

(*To be continued*)

EXCAVATION METHODS IN PALESTINE

By Kathleen M. Kenyon, M.A., F.S.A.

Excavation methods are a subject about which practically no mention is made in publications, and about which only people who have made prolonged visits to digs have any idea. In ordinary popular accounts of excavations, it is the results which are stressed, and not how they are obtained. In full scientific reports, the methods can often be deduced, but they are seldom described, as it is taken for granted that the reports will mainly be read by fellow excavators who will not require to be told about methods. Often readers of popular accounts, and particularly newspaper reports, may be moved to wonder how such and such a theory has been evolved, and to doubt the possibility of proving a statement. It can, however, confidently be said that facts stated in authentic reports of modern excavations can be proved just as much as facts in any other science. Archaeology is nowadays an exact science, and it is the aim of this paper to indicate its methods of operation.

To begin with it is necessary to emphasize the aim of archaeology, even if this is platitudinous. The aim is to establish the history, cultural, religious, architectural and so on, of a given place or people, in those times and areas of which we have not a sufficient historical record. The earliest manifestations of interest in the past, are undoubtedly those of the treasure-seeker, and as such one might class most of the excavators of the early nineteenth century. Nowadays, a work of art loses nine-tenths of its importance if it is disassociated from the culture to which it belongs. The evidence for this comes almost without exception from the layer of soil, whether in city or tomb, in which it is found. It is therefore to the establishment of this, that is to say, to stratification, that modern archaeological methods are directed. Many people may have seen the methods in use on an up-to-date dig in England, and have realized what minutely accurate results are produced by them. They have also probably been told " Oh yes, of course that is all very well, but it is a very different thing in the East, where you get layer after layer one on top of the other." But the deduction is false. Almost identical methods can be applied in the East, though the difficulties are undoubtedly much greater, both from the succession of strata and the difficulty of getting enough intelligent workmen.

The history of excavation in Palestine shows the gradual development of the realization of the importance of stratification. Nowadays, when everybody has read graphic accounts in the public press of one city rising on the ruins of another, gradually forming artificial hills, it is difficult to realize how recent this knowledge is. Edward Robinson, who visited Palestine in 1838 and 1852, was of the opinion that the numerous tells which dotted the Jordan valley were natural. Warren, who worked in the country from 1867 to 1870, decided by cutting into them that they were artificial, and made up largely of sun-dried brick, but was apparently of the opinion that the mound was constructed as such in order to form an eminence on which to put a building. Even as late as 1894, after Schliemann's discoveries at Troy had popularized the idea of numerous cities one over the other, Bliss felt it necessary to explain, in his report on Tell Hesy, how a tell was formed.

The earlier excavations in Palestine may be described as treasure-seeking almost as much as those in Egypt and Babylonia, even when the treasure the excavators were seeking was only the plan of buildings in Jerusalem. Captain Warren's excavations in Jerusalem are by modern lights almost models of how excavations should not be done, though anyone who has read his account will realize the incredible difficulties with which he has to contend. Even if modern methods had been evolved in his day, it is difficult to see, in view of the official attitude, how else he could have done anything. Practically all his efforts to trace the line of walls had to be carried out by tunnelling, and such was the suspicion with which he was regarded, that to examine the wall of the Haram esh Sherriff, the Temple area, he had to start his shaft forty feet from it, sink eighty feet to the rock and then run along its surface till he reached the base of the wall. The drawing of this is very familiar from the old cover of the *Quarterly Statement*. Considering the fact that the cutting was made through loose rubble, and that supporters at home were continually grudging him money for timber, it is an amazing feat that practically all his discoveries were made in the same way, and it is remarkable how much he found. But though by tunnelling an excavator may find Treasure Trove in the way of a fine wall, it is almost impossible to put it in its historical place by reference to surrounding buildings and strata. It is extraordinarily difficult to identify a wall merely by the style of masonry, of which fact an excellent example is given by the Harvard excavation at Samaria, where a magnificent round tower was identified as the work of Jeroboam II. A similar tower was discovered by the recent Joint Expedition, and when its outside was first cleared, was likewise assigned to Jeroboam. As soon as the stratification inside and behind it was examined, it became quite clear that it was undoubtedly Hellenistic. Nowadays, it is inexcusable for a wall to be traced without reference to the surrounding soil.

The beginning of scientific archaeology in Palestine came with a rapid five weeks work which was carried out by Flinders Petrie at Tell Hesy in 1890. In his work in Egypt he had come to realize the importance of pottery in the dating of levels. At Tell Hesy, part of the mound had been cut away by a stream, and he was able to work in several levels at once, and by noticing the levels in feet above sea level at which various vessels occurred he was able to work out the succession of pottery forms throughout the history of the Tell. Bliss continued his work in 1891–2, and the result of the work is shown in the section Pl. XII.

In this section, each layer roughly includes the level down to which the foundations of a building go, up to that of the surviving tops of its walls. That is to say, the soil assigned to that layer includes that which was there before the building was put up, and into which its foundations were sunk, the floors of the building and the occupation layers above them, the debris of its destruction and possibly the levelling up prior to the building of its successor. This clearly covers a considerable period of time, and the method is obviously stratification in an elementary form.

Nowadays, excavation by stratigraphical methods is the determination of the meaning of each layer of soil with reference to the adjacent walls, and this can be done only by the careful examination of the lines in the soil. This method is all the more necessary in cities built in hilly country, where the natural shape of the hill affects the levels of the various portions of the town. It is obvious that in such a case the recording the absolute level above the sea of any object has no value at all, since objects of Period IV in one place may be lower than Period II quite near by. This is illustrated by comparison of Tell Fara with that of Samaria. In the former case almost the whole mound represents artificial accumulation, which rose at approximately the same rate all over the city. In the latter case, the original settlement conformed to the natural shape of the hill, and the amount of artificial accumulation is comparatively small, since there mud brick walls, which produce the greatest rise in level, were little used. This last fact is a further reason for the need of more elaborate observation of the stratification, for the use of stone for building, with the resultant deep foundations of the walls, and also the frequent destruction of older walls for building stones makes things much more complicated.

Therefore, though the methods first applied at Tell Hesy worked well enough, within limits, in the brick built cities of South Palestine, they were quite inapplicable to the hill towns of North Palestine. The result was that though the principles of stratification which they involved were fully recognized and their value acknowledged, when, during the next twenty years, the excavation of important hill-sites was carried out, it was deduced that the stratification was too disturbed to be followed in digging. This was noticeably the case in the excavations of Gezer between 1902 and 1909 and of Samaria between 1909 and 1912. The excavators, in each case, were fully aware of the desirability of stratigraphical excavation, but the technique of digging had not then advanced sufficiently far for them to be able to deal with the very intricate layers.

In 1931 to 1935 the Joint Expedition of Harvard University, the British School at Jerusalem and other bodies, carried out further excavations at Samaria. By this time, stratigraphical methods had become very much more elaborate, and it was found to be perfectly possible to unravel the various layers, complicated though these were. Since the methods employed on stone wall sites such as Samaria thus represent the most complicated type of excavations, this paper is concerned chiefly with them. Methods on other sites are essentially the same, though perhaps sometimes simpler.

In order to make clear the problems with which an excavator is faced, it is necessary to allude shortly to the methods by which the walls were built in the first place. The three main types of construction are illustrated by the rough sketch, Pl. XIII. In figure 1, the builders are starting work on a virgin site. The rock is, as nearly always, sloping slightly, so that in order to obtain a level basis for the wall, a scarp has to be cut, and the wall built up against it. When the wall is built, the area inside the building is levelled over with a layer of earth and floor laid above this. Everything in the make-up of this floor is therefore contemporary with the building, that is to say, that though some of the objects may be older, they only reached their present position in the short interval between the building of the wall and the laying down of the floor. Later on, another floor is laid inside the building, possibly contemporary with structural alterations, possibly not. Meanwhile, debris has been gradually accumulating outside the building, but there has been no laid floor. After a third period floor has been laid, the building is destroyed and with the destruction of the upper part of the outer wall, the top of the latest floor is washed away, and layers of debris bank up against the outside. Then the wall is rebuilt, with a new floor on its inside, and this time a floor on its outside, overlying the collapsed debris of the earlier wall.

In the other two examples, a wall has been built on a site already covered by several occupation layers. Here again, the builders have based their wall on rock. This may be done by two methods. In figure 2, a trench much wider than the actual wall has been cut, and the wall has been built free in the middle of it, with room for the masons to work against its face. When the wall has been finished, the extra width has been filled in, and the floor laid over the top. In figure 3, the lower part of the wall has been trench built, the foundation trench being only the width of the wall, and filled with uncoursed rubble.

Higher up, there is a broader foundation trench, and the stones are dressed and coursed.

These examples will show how necessary it is to observe and interpret all the layers of soil and their relations to the walls. The excavator must be able to say not only what layer any given object has come from, but also what the significance of the layers is. Pl. XIV, a section of one of the areas at Samaria, will show the very great complication which results from the continued occupation of a site over a long time. It will also show how all the various levels can be associated with the contemporary walls, which thus can be dated from the contents of the levels. The association of walls of the different periods similarly can be established by their relationship to the levels, even when structural evidence is lacking. Further, by linking up of a whole series of sections, the plan and history of the whole site can gradually be built up.

A further complication has still to be faced by the excavator, that of the destruction of walls by stone-robbers. Throughout all periods in the history of a site like Samaria, builders have found it easier to pull down and dig up the walls of their predecessors in order to obtain stone, than to quarry new blocks. The result is that many walls are represented only by the holes out of which their foundations have been grubbed. Fortunately, these robber trenches can always be identified, as they are inevitably filled by material differing from the undisturbed floors on either side. Pl. XV illustrates how such a trench shows up, while in Pl. XVI, in an area at Samaria, the robber trenches of the casemate walls have been cleared out, down to the rock-cut trenches and few remaining stones, while the undisturbed floors in between have been left standing.

Such then, is the problem with which an excavator of a site such as Samaria is faced. It is quite clear that to go straight ahead and clear out all the soil would destroy all the evidence. It would be useless to record the absolute depth of the objects, since in different parts of the site this has a different significance, and it may well have arrived in its position by a foundation trench or a robber trench cutting through the earlier levels. It is necessary, therefore, to examine and correlate all the layers of soil, particularly in relation to the walls. Therefore, the worst possible thing to do is to clear along the face of a wall, as its relation to the layers is thus destroyed. It is necessary to cut a section at right angles to each wall, in order to decide which layers are earlier, contemporary and so on. The next stage is to secure sections across the whole area, linking it all together. The method of digging is therefore to start by cutting trenches across the area in order to identify the floors, foundation trenches and robber trenches. When the meaning of a layer has been established and complete records have been made, by planning, photographing, and drawing sections, it can then be removed, care of course being taken to keep separate material from the foundation trenches and robber trenches. These can either be removed first, or, since the former particularly are often narrow and go to a great depth, they can be left standing with a thin skin of undisturbed soil against them to prevent them contaminating the soil being removed.

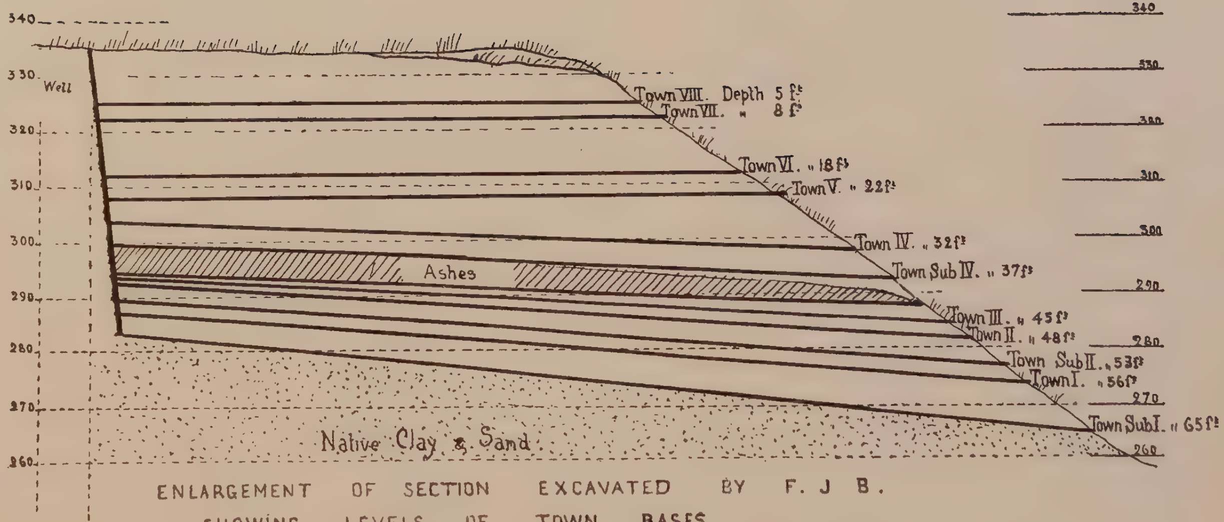
For the purposes of identification later, it is of course neccesary that full notes should be kept as to where everything comes from. Each area should be given a page or pages in the note book, and each level described and numbered to correspond with measured sections which show its meaning. The pottery from each level is put in separate baskets, and labelled with the page and number of level of the note book. It should be washed and roughly examined at once, in order that the excavator should know to what periods the levels he is working in belong, and non-significant sherds should be discarded. It then can be put in paper bags and examined at leisure.

When the season's work is over, the excavator thus has a complete record of the site. He has plans of walls which he can prove are contemporary by their association with the same floors. He has pottery and objects from the various levels, with measured sections to prove to which of the various building periods they belong, and he has photographs. He is therefore able to classify his material, and to date the unknown by association with the known. Most of the dating of Palestinian objects is based on association with objects imported from Egypt and elsewhere, where written evidence helps to give an exact date. By an increasing amount of evidence of association in stratified layers, an increasing number of Palestinian objects can be closely dated, and so the detailed history of the country is gradually being built up.

All the above is only dealing with one side of archaeological methods, that of extracting the evidence from the soil. There are of course an infinite number of other sides to the matter. One side is the mechanics of the removal of the soil. The whole of the site may be gradually cleared and the earth dumped over the side of the hill, or it may be necessary to excavate a strip and re-fill it as the next is dug. The earth may be carried the whole way in baskets by women or children, or a railway may be employed. Excavation often goes down deep, and then the basket carriers may go up or down ramps or ladders, or baskets may be lifted out from hand to hand. Other sides of excavation touch such diverse matters as stylistic evidence of masonry, and the question of removing delicate objects from the soil, or sieving for small ones such as beads. All these are matters which might well come within the scope of the title of this paper, and while some of them are self-explanatory, others would require a whole treatise to deal with them.

This paper has however dealt almost entirely with the subject of stratification for two reasons. In the first place, that it should be realized that it is possible even in the East to be minutely accurate concerning the provenance of individual objects, and that the deductions based upon such details can be justified. The second reason is that it is a good thing that people should understand that the actual technique of excavation is a complicated one. It is not enough for an excavator to be a first-rate scholar and authority on objects from a museum point of view. He must be trained in fieldwork as such, and have sufficient students and assistants under him to be directly in charge of each individual area being excavated. Excavations done in any other way are pure wrecking.

It is supporters of a society such as this who can influence the policy of British archaeology in Palestine. When Warren was sent out in 1867, he says " I was told I must get results : not to go where I thought best for the work, but to go where every basketful unearthed would give information." The effect was that he could not use his own judgment as to where it would in the long run be best for him to dig. Excavators must of course get results, in order to maintain public interest and support. Some of these results may be as apparently unimportant as the establishment of the fact that type B of pottery comes after type A, but this fact will help to elucidate the history of the country often to a surprising degree. It is therefore most important for the interested public to understand something of the methods and aims of modern archaeology, and that is what this paper aims at explaining.


340
330
Well
320
310
300
290
280
270
260
Town VIII. Depth 5 ft
Town VII. " 8 ft
Town VI. " 18 ft
Town V. " 22 ft
Town IV. " 32 ft
Town Sub IV. " 37 ft
Ashes
Town III. " 45 ft
Town II. " 48 ft
Town Sub II. " 53 ft
Town I. " 56 ft
Town Sub I. " 65 ft
Native Clay & Sand
340
330
320
310
300
290
280
270
260

ENLARGEMENT OF SECTION EXCAVATED BY F. J B.
SHOWING LEVELS OF TOWN BASES.
1:300

SECTION OF EXCAVATIONS AT TELL EL-HESY

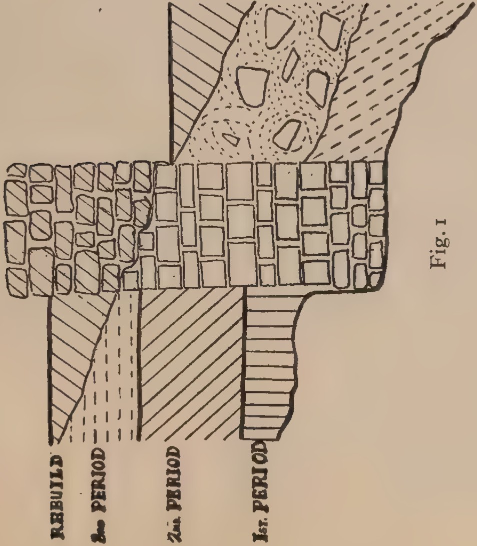

REBUILD
2ND PERIOD
2ND PERIOD
1ST PERIOD

Fig. 1

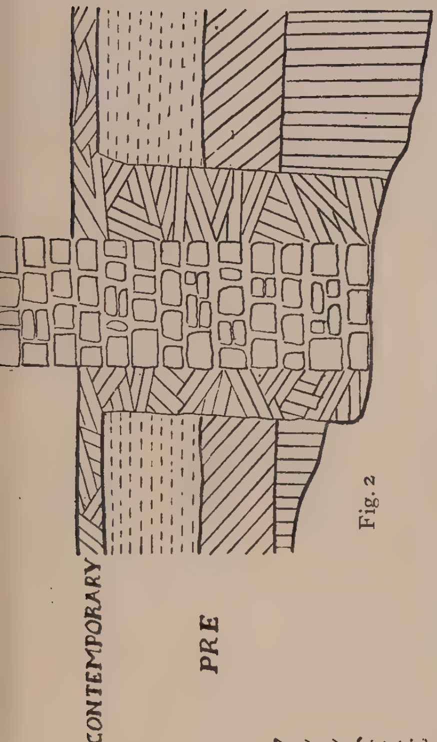

CONTEMPORARY
PRE

Fig. 2

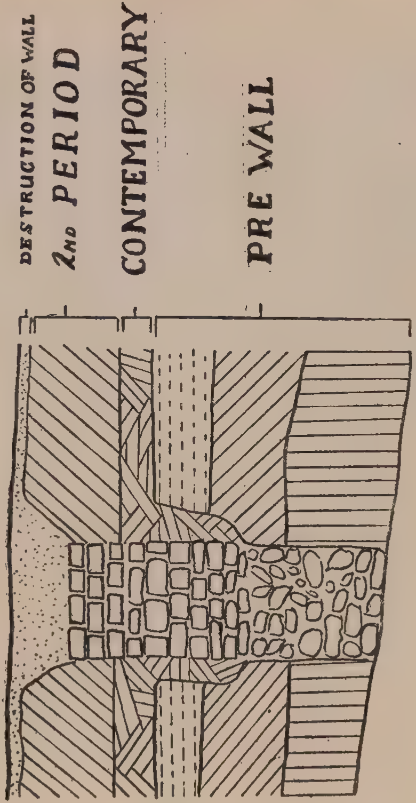
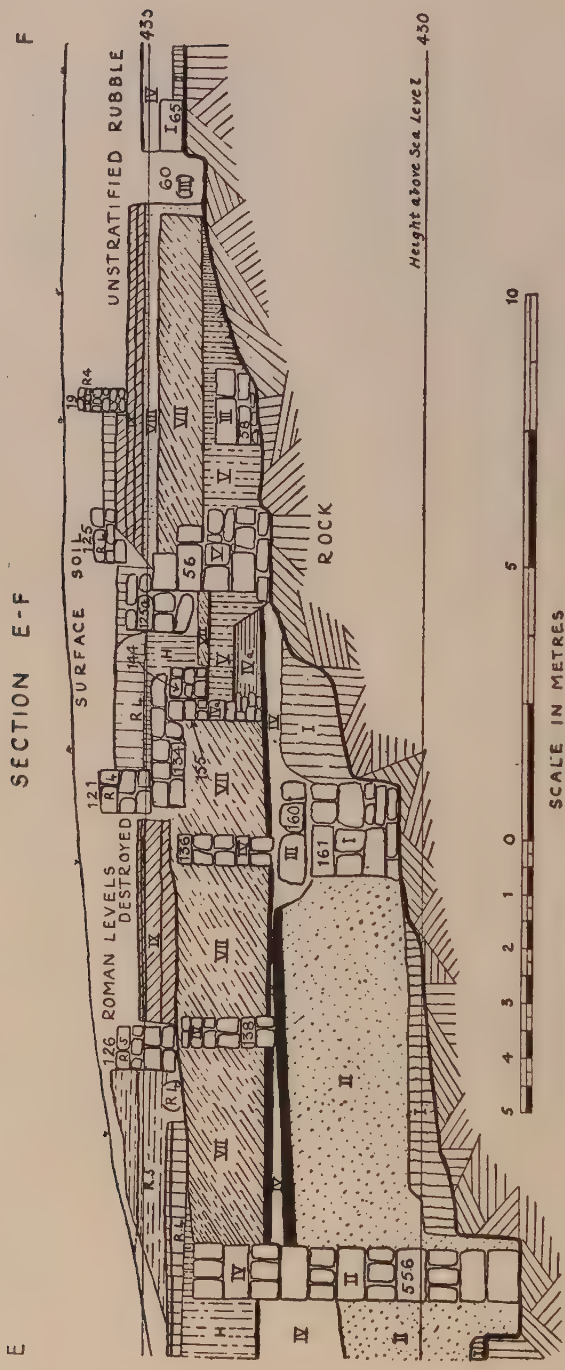
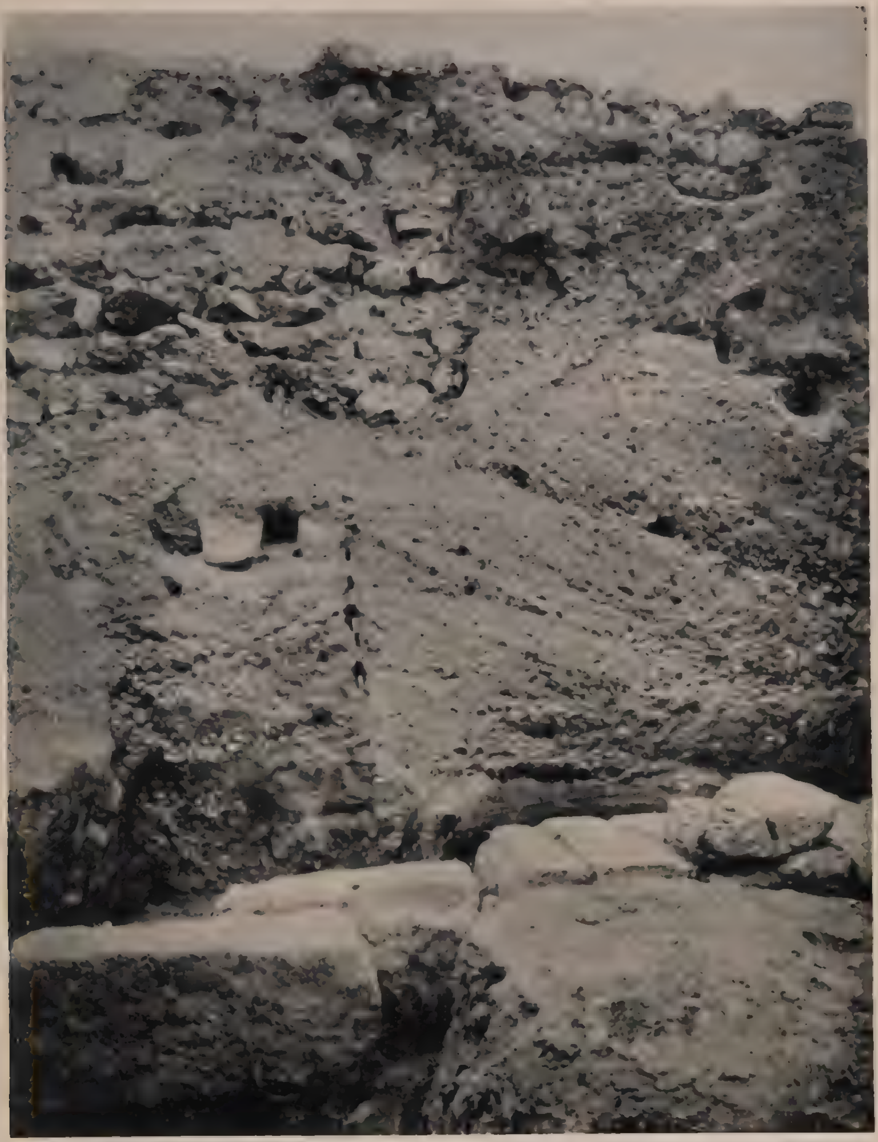

DESTRUCTION OF WALL
2ND PERIOD
CONTEMPORARY
PRE WALL

Fig. 3

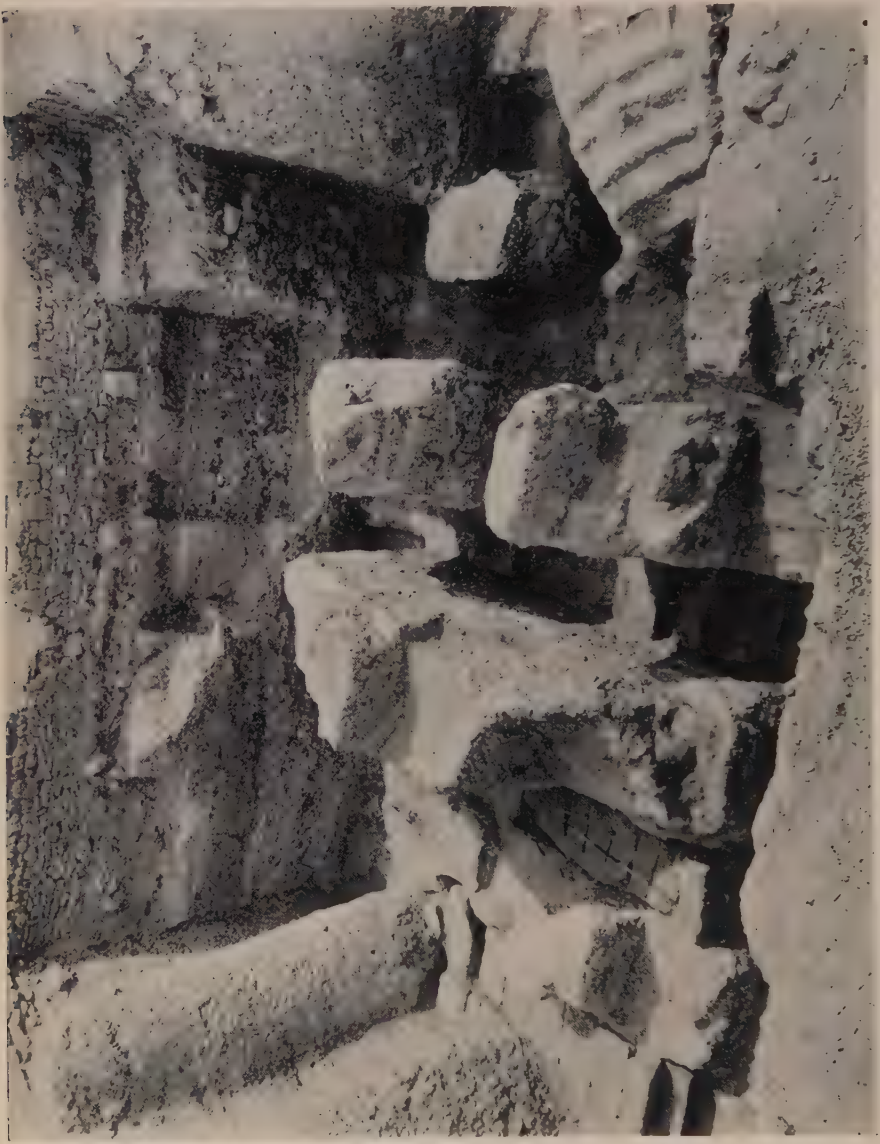
SKETCH SECTION SHOWING RELATION OF WALLS TO STRATA


SECTION E-F
E
F
SURFACE SOIL
UNSTRATIFIED RUBBLE
ROMAN LEVELS DESTROYED
ROCK
Height above Sea Level
435
430
121
125
125a
126
134
135
136
144
160
161
19
38
56
556
60
65
R4
R5
I
II
III
IV
V
VII
VIII
IX
SCALE IN METRES
5
4
3
2
1
0
5
10

SECTION AT SAMARIA SHOWING WALLS AND STRATA



EXCAVATIONS AT SAMARIA SHOWING ROBBER-TRENCH IN SECTION



EXCAVATIONS AT SAMARIA, SHOWING ROBBER-TRENCHES CLEARED, WITH UNDISTURBED SOIL LEFT STANDING

THE SILOAM INSCRIPTION

By W. A. Wordsworth

The greatest puzzle in the Siloam inscription is the word in the middle of the third line which is read זדה. The word is unknown, but apart from the context might be expected to mean pride, which has suggested the translation "for there was an *excess* in the rock on the right." As this hardly gives possible sense it has more commonly been rendered rift or fissure, which has really nothing in its favour except that it does fit the context moderately well.

It seems desirable therefore to enquire whether זדה is the only possible reading, especially as Warren and Conder (Survey of W. Palestine, 1889) say "the daleth is not quite certain"! My first impression on examining the cast of the P.E.F. was that the daleth was certain, but after a comparison with the על of the sixth line it seemed possible that it might be a badly formed ayin. It is noteworthy that in the Lachish Letters also the form of the two letters sometimes approximates closely. The small oval ayin is not convenient for cutting in stone.

The next consideration is the possibility that a letter has been destroyed in the groove in the rock which follows the ז and extends to the edge of the doubtful letter, and which might have contained a vav. This would give the word זועה and therewith very striking sense. "While yet there were three cubits . . . the voice of one calling to his mate that there was a quivering in the rock on the right."

Enquiries as to distance at which the hewers would be likely first to hear the sound of each other's working have brought me very different answers, but it seems incredible that they would not have heard each other's picks at some considerably greater distance than three cubits. They were, I suppose, consciously working towards each other at this stage guided by sound, but even so were almost missing each other, till one of the men put his hand on the rock at the side of the tunnel and felt it vibrating from the blows of the other party.

The other place where neither reading nor sense seems satisfactory is in the last line, where several letters are mutilated. The last letter of the fifth line seems likely to be kaph. Then, judging from the photograph given in Ball's *Light from the East*, I should be inclined to read תאוה הית נקבה הצו על ראש החצב, i.e., as (the) design was (the) boring, the direction-mark above the head of the hewer(s). תאוה means both desire and boundary-line, so is doubly appropriate. It would appear then that the course was planned on the surface of the hill and the hewers were in some way directed from above. The two shafts which lead from the tunnel to the surface would accord with this.

The most questionable part of the reading is the נק. The letter between צ and על has disappeared entirely, so צו has as good a claim as צר, which is the usual restoration.

The real interest of these readings, if they can be established, is the light they would throw on Isaiah xxviii. " And there shall be nought but a quivering to discern what is heard."

I have for long been convinced that in the צו לצו passage (xxviii, 10ff.) Isaiah is mocking Shebna, the Ethiopian, the man of stammering lips, who is encouraging rebellion against Assyria and has persuaded the Jews to make this aqueduct as their hope of salvation. " Mark to mark, line to line, a little there a little there ; " he is boasting in his broken Hebrew of the skill which has carried through his wonderful counsel. Isaiah implies that the makers of this aqueduct have repeated the sin of the days of Ahaz, when they " refused the waters of the Shiloah which go softly " (Isa. viii, 6) and the promise of Immanuel (viii, 8 and 10) ; " therefore they shall fall backward and be broken and snared and taken " (xxviii, 13, quoting viii, 15). Their secret covert scheme (xxviii. 15ff.) will of course be discovered by the Assyrians and will bring the invasion which they dread, " and the hiding place the waters will flood." " The bed is too short to stretch out in : and the covering too strait to be gathered in " ; the Gihon caves and tunnels will be not a safeguard but a death trap. The stone of " Immanuel," the Divine Salvation stands as the only hope (viii, 14, xxviii, 16).

Nothing less than a complete commentary on the book of Isaiah can explain the significance of this. I can only hope in these few lines to have offered a few grains of food for thought.

Additional Note: I am now inclined to think that in the last line of the Siloam inscription it is better to stick to the normal reading נבה and to interpret, "as desired it came to pass: the direction-mark was high above the head of the hewers"; perhaps giving also as an alternative what I sent previously, i.e. "as the design was the boring, the direction-mark above the head," etc. To have to suggest that היהנקבה was a mistake for הית הנקבה is not very convincing and if it was a ק it is certainly very defective now and what looks rather like an נ before it would be rather crowded.

SIR ROBERT MOND AND THE BRITISH SCHOOL OF ARCHAEOLOGY IN JERUSALEM

By J. L. Myres

When Palestine became a Mandated Territory, and was assigned to Great Britain, the care of ancient monuments devolved on the new administration, and at the same time the duty of regulating and facilitating the archaeological researcher of all countries alike. It was an obvious need, and duty, to provide an advanced base for British scholars, who had done much for the archaeology of Palestine in earlier years ; and also to create a trained staff for the new Department of Antiquities. Others, more cautiously, were for raising an endowment before beginning to organize or to explore on the spot. Sir Robert Mond thought otherwise ; and it was through his personal efforts, backed by generous benefactions and guarantees, that the British Academy and the Palestine Exploration Fund were induced to join in establishing a " British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem " on the lines already found valuable for many years in Athens and in Rome. The University of Liverpool lent the services of Professor John Garstang as Director ; and on him the Government of Palestine conferred in addition the Directorship of the Department of Antiquities, which was thus enabled to come into action at once, within the premises acquired for the School, and with an inspectorate consisting, in the main, of the School's staff and students ; the Colonial Office contributed a subsidy of £500 a year to be administered by the School's Council. Thus the administration was given indispensable help in carrying out its duty to archaeology under the terms of the Mandate, and British archaeologists were put for the first time on the same footing as those of other nations, in respect of local establishment and facilities. In all these transactions, Sir Robert Mond was the guiding spirit, both in London and in Jerusalem, as well as the chief financial supporter ; and when the School and the Department were eventually separated, and the Government of Palestine financed as well as administered its own organization, he remained Honorary Treasurer of the School, and responsible in great measure for its existence after the withdrawal of the Colonial Office Grant, and for the maintenance of its working relations with the Palestine Exploration Fund at home, which had always extended its hospitality to the London office of the School.

Among his latest benefactions were the means to bring the School's valuable library up to date, as regards periodicals and books of reference, and to initiate—once more without waiting for outside help—the field work of the Archaeological Survey of Palestine, which has come to be the chief proccupation both of the British School in Jerusalem and of the Palestine Exploration Fund.

It was to Sir Robert Mond also that the School owed its ability to support the researches of Miss Dorothy Garrod and her colleagues in the cave deposits of Mount Carmel, which have yielded exceptionally valuable evidence of the antiquity of man in the Near East, and of the climatic and faunal circumstances of his early occupancy of Palestine. This was a field of exploration which appealed at the same time to his scientific and to his historical interests, and involved the kind of team-work which he loved to encourage.

In the British School in Jerusalem it was its academic and instructional aspect which interested him. The Mond Research Studentships which he maintained at the School for many years were designed to recruit and retain promising students destined for administrative and academic posts ; and he took a keen personal interest in their work. But when he excavated on his own account in Palestine, or in conjunction with others, it was as an independent enterprise, responsible to himself. The School was to train students, and its own excavations were to be essentially exercises in field technique ; and he never concealed his opinion that the maintenance of the necessary establishment for such advanced studies and field training was a contribution both to the advancement of learning and to efficient administration, which might reasonably be demanded of a civilized country. His own generous contributions to this end he regarded as a patriotic duty, until public opinion or practical experience of administration made this obvious, and led to government action, such as has actually followed in regard to the antiquities of Palestine. The School, on the other hand, loses not only a munificent founder, and wise counsellor, but one whose constant support it will be very difficult to replace.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES

The Route of the Exodus. By A. Lucas. (London, 1938). Edward Arnold & Co.). pp. 100. 3*s*. 6*d*. net.

Mr. Lucas favours the route from the Wadi Tumilat through Nekhl to the Gulf of Akaba. His Mt. Sinai, " which manifestly was the same as Mt. Horeb in Midian " is Mt. Bagir in the Gebel el Shera range. He equates Kadesh with Ain Kadeis and Mt. Hor with Gebel Araif el Naga, which is about fifteen miles almost due south of it. So much in brief for his general conclusions but what is one to say of his method of arriving at them ? Mr. Lucas seems to be almost entirely unaware of the difficulties in the Biblical narrative at which so many scholars have laboured so long and so arduously. He simply accepts the story as it is told and tries to explain it in the light of common-sense eked out by Josephus. Only on one point does he desert this criterion, that namely of Ain Kadeis. This " mirage in the wilderness " which Lawrence long ago dissipated (in a work which Mr. Lucas actually quotes) seems, however, to bear a charmed life : indeed under the magic wand of Père Abel it has blossomed out into " une groupe de sources " ! After this we may presumably expect anything ! Mr. Lucas dissents from the volcanic theory put forward by (among others) the present reviewer to whose articles he refers, but his reason for doing so rests entirely upon his false identification of Kadesh and the need (if this is accepted) of postulating an Edom stretching westward beyond the Arabah. He himself also forgets that this theory is intended to embrace much more than the phenomena at the Mount of God : it includes those of the Pillar of Cloud and Fire (the *directional* character of which is ignored by Major Jarvis) as well as those of the Plagues and the Crossing of the Sea. Mr. Lucas offers no explanation of the Pillar and the Plagues, nor does he exert his imagination to think out what kind of phenomena those must have been to have stamped themselves so deeply upon the memory of Israel. This is, in fact, the great defect of all such theorizings about the Exodus: they concentrate upon the route to the exclusion of far more important considerations. And when they do this with the uncritical naïveté displayed in the present book they escape beyond the reach of serious constructive criticism.

W. J. PHYTHIAN-ADAMS.

Fulfilment in the Promised Land, 1917–37, x+246. By NORMAN BENTWICH. (Soncino Press, 8*s*. 6*d*. net.)

Mr. Bentwich has for the past twenty years been closely connected with Palestine, successively as Legal Secretary, Attorney General and Professor of International Relations at the Hebrew University. He has not only observed but helped to make history during that period. He has even in part written that history, as several of his recent books show. On this occasion he has described the Jewish development, spiritual and cultural even more than material, of the past two decades. As far as possible he keeps away from politics, but no writer on modern Palestine can completely divorce himself from them, and in his last chapters he finds himself drawn into the problem of Arab-Jewish relations and in his advice on that subject shows himself, as is to be expected of a man who has enjoyed and has earned the respect and confidence of both Jew and Arab, reasonable and moderate in his views, understanding and respecting both points of view. In a policy of partition he can see no hope of settlement or appeasement. On the other hand Arab-Jewish agreement is to him by no means out of the question, provided that both sides limit themselves to real essentials and to some extent consider the position of the other. Mr. Bentwich is by no means alone in this opinion. The views he puts forward are shared by an increasing body of informed opinion not only among Jews and English students of affairs but also in certain Arab circles. The solution that he lightly sketches is therefore by no means without hope.

Apart from the Introduction, the book falls into three parts: The Economic and Social Structure, The Cultural Development and The Crisis. Of the two former the second is the more interesting and the more enthusiastic. In this section Mr. Bentwich writes from his heart as well as from his brain and in no part of it less so than in the exceptionally valuable and eloquent account of the Hebrew University.

A. M. H.

The Letters of T. E. Lawrence. Edited by DAVID GARNETT. (Cape, 1938, 25*s.*)

Most of these 583 letters were written to Lawrence's friends, and their debtors are we for admittance within the charmed circle of his intimacy. Few men had more friends, for he had the golden touch that transforms a casual acquaintance, or even an opponent, into a friend. The letters reveal the many-sidedness of his character ; he was a grand friend, a man of letters, a recluse, a visionary, an archaeologist, a soldier fit to stand by Caesar, a devotee of the past whose whole work was for the future. When the will to write came upon him, he wrote with equal pleasure and frankness to statesmen, novelists, airmen, artists, soldiers, architects and children. He fell into step easily with other men's lives and interests, without denying his own intensity and individuality—rather, he brought these illuminating qualities to bear upon all his contacts, to their exceeding enrichment. The letters to Mrs. Hardy, after Hardy's death, show the extreme sensitiveness of a mind that reflected life as a mirror and retained impressions as if graven on steel ; no woman could have entered more intensely into her feelings, nor touched with finer delicacy and reticence upon her loss. The literary quality of the letters is very high ; they can be read over and over again with ever fresh delight.

Lawrence suffered unduly because he was tormented by the introspectiveness that afflicts genius ; the letters written during the period described as " the years of hide and seek " reveal inward conflict and much suffering. The War took heavy toll of his nervous strength, physical and mental ; but the bargaining away by Allied politicians of the true fruits of victory—peace and freedom—wounded his very soul. Self-distrust made him self-conscious and therefore self-analytical, causing him to wound himself again and again. " What is it that makes me so damnably sensitive and so ready to cry out, and yet so ready to incur more pain ? " " Everything bodily is now more hateful to me (and in my case hateful is the same as impossible)." " Because my senses hate it (Army life), my will forces me to it . . . a comfortable life would seem now to me sinful." " There, my letters always end in tears ! " The suffering expressed in, or underlying, many of these letters makes them sad reading ; but it is the suffering of a soul in birth. The Lawrence who nearly killed himself by swerving at 60 m.p.h. " trying vainly to save a bird which dashed out its life against my side-car," and twelve years later swerved to his death in trying to avoid two errand-boys, was a man who had found himself, a greater man even than he whom we knew as " Lawrence of Arabia."

The letters are often self-revealing, but as a rule, indirectly so. It is through his reactions to circumstances, to events, to people, that the outside world gets all the knowledge of Lawrence it will ever get. The real Lawrence could not be pinned down within words, even his words. Probably this deep inward reserve, this elusiveness, were unconscious, for Lawrence was a prodigal giver where his friends were concerned ; they sprang from an instinct for freedom, which he accounted the greatest good in life. " It is true we have increased prosperity (in Mesopotamia)—but who cares for that when liberty is on the other side ? " " If I have restored to the East some self-respect, a goal, ideals : if I have made the standard of rule of white over red more exigent, I have fitted these peoples in a degree for the new commonwealth in which . . . white and red and yellow and brown and black will stand up together without side glances in the service of the world." " We leaned over the wall and saw the fish in the moat, and it came upon me very hardly how excellent was their life. Fish are free of mankind, you know, and are always perfectly suspended, without ache or activity of nerves, in their sheltering element."

It was the P.E.F. that opened a gate of Eastern experience to Lawrence, as it had to Kitchener before him. Archaeology and the unconventionality of field-life were thoroughly congenial to him, and the letters of this period are lighter-hearted than those of later years. " Woolley and I explored the desert of the exodus, looking for the foot-prints of the children of Israel. And now we have to write the next Annual of the

P.E.F. to describe our non-success. The Fund informs us that the tone of the annual is slightly devotional!" The Annual (*Wilderness of Zin*) was just completed when War broke out. After a short time in the Geographical Section (General Staff), Lawrence was sent out to the Intelligence Department in Egypt: thence to the Desert War—

> Presiding everywhere
> Upon event was one man's character,
> And that endures.*

We could go on quoting at length from these letters, whose vigour and originality of thought, as well as their beauty of language, grip the mind; but many gems can be detached from their setting, and still shine. "Suddenly at last, like God's providence, a dewfall of peace upon the camp." "The frenzied aching delight in a pattern of words which happen to come true." "To sorrow too much at other's death is to contradict ourselves." "T.H. (Hardy) is an experience that a man must keep to himself." "The peace which passeth all understanding—but it can be felt and is nearly unbearable." And—the words sum up his own philosophy of life and all its high endeavour—"Life doesn't allow us an overdraft. We can give just all we've got."

E.M.E.B.

The Committee have to acknowledge with thanks the following:

The Expository Times, October–December, 1938. Recent Biblical Archaeology, by J. W. Jack (December).
Great Britain and the East, October–December, 1938.
Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, January–June, 1938, LXVIII.
New Judaea, October–December, 1938.
Religions, October, 1938.
Scottish Geographical Magazine, 54, 5.
American Journal of Archaeology, XLII, 3. The Megiddo Ivories, by J. A. Wilson.
American Journal of Philology, LIX, 4.
American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures, LV, 4.

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* *Abraham Lincoln* (Drinkwater).

The Chronology of a South Palestinian City, by W. F. Albright.

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TRANSLITERATION OF HEBREW AND ARABIC CONSONANTS

HEBREW

Hebrew	English		Hebrew	English	
א	’		כ	k̲h̲	
בּ	b		ל	l	
ב	b̲h̲		מ	m	
גּ	g		נ	n	
ג	g̲h̲		ס	s	
דּ	d		ע	‘	
ד	d̲h̲		פּ	p	
ה	h		פ	f	
ו	v, w		צ	ẕ	
ז	z		ק	ḵ	
ח	ẖ		ר	r	
ט	ṯ		שׁ	s̲h̲	
י	y		שׂ	s̱	
כּ	k		תּ	t	
			ת	t̲h̲	

ARABIC

Arabic	English		Arabic	English	
ا	’		ض	ḏ	
ب	b		ط	ṯ	
ت	t		ظ	t̲z̲	
ث	t̲h̲		ع	‘	
ج	g	or j in Syrian Arabic.	غ	g̲h̲	
ح	ẖ		ف	f	
خ	k̲h̲		ق	ḵ	
د	d		ك	k	
ذ	d̲h̲		ل	l	
ر	r		م	m	
ز	z		ن	n	
س	s		ه	h	
ش	s̲h̲		و	w	
ص	ẕ		ي	y	

Long vowels marked thus :—ā, ē, ī, ō, ū

THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND

NOTES AND NEWS

THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND will be held at 2 Hinde Street, W.1, on Friday, 23rd June, at 4 o'clock p.m.

The Bishop of Portsmouth (the Rt. Rev. Dr. F. Partridge) will preside. A fuller notice of the meeting will be issued in due course.

The field of Semitic studies and of Palestinian archaeology has suffered a great loss by the death of the Rev. Dr. A. R. S. Kennedy, formerly Professor of Hebrew and Semitic Languages in the University of Edinburgh where he had held the chair for 42 years. He was also the Fund's Hon. Local Secretary for Edinburgh since 1928. A memoir of him by the Rev. Professor Norman Porteous appears in this issue of the QUARTERLY.

The publication by Sir Leonard Woolley in the current issue of the *Antiquaries Journal* of the results of his excavation of Tell Atchana in the season of 1938, raises a question of considerable interest to students of the Old Testament and of Palestinian archaeology. From certain architectural characteristics and from hieroglyphic inscriptions on seals Sir Leonard Woolley draws the conclusion that the presence of Hittites and their civilization in Northern Syria is to be placed much earlier than has hitherto been admitted by scholars. Professor Sidney Smith, whose account of the cuneiform tablets from Atchana follows Sir Leonard Woolley's report, hesitates to accept the theory of Hittite influence. Professor R. Schaeffer, the excavator of Ras Shamra, also questions the grounds upon which this change of date for the presence of Hittite influence in N. Syria rests. As far as the evidence of the Old Testament is concerned, the main difficulty lies in the record contained in Genesis xxiii of a commercial transaction between Abraham and a Hittite group settled in Hebron. Even if Sir Leonard

Woolley's interpretation of his archaeological evidence be accepted we should still be a long way from the date commonly assigned to Abraham's settlement in Canaan, a date which is not far from the beginnings of the rise of Hittite power in Asia Minor.

In view of Professor Driver's suggestion that the Negeb of Judah might provide a home for the harassed Jews of central Europe, Mr. Epstein's article on the Bedouin of the Negeb, which appears in the present issue of the QUARTERLY, will be of interest to our readers. Major Jarvis, than whom no one is better acquainted with this part of Palestine, has pointed out in *The Times* that " the country is fairly densely settled for a semi-desert, and Jewish colonists at the present moment would only add to the bitterness of the situation and bring in on the side of the rebels the Bedouin of the desert who up to now have remained aloof."

The Lachish Letters continue to occupy the attention of scholars, and since the appearance of our last issue an important article in the *Journal of Theological Studies* by Professor D. Winton Thomas, the new Regius Professor of Hebrew at Cambridge, and one by Professor Elliger in the current number of the *ZDPV*, have appeared. There is also a useful discussion of the text of the Letters by Professor Reider in the current number of the *Jewish Quarterly Review*. Practically all the scholars who have examined the Letters since the appearance of the *editio princeps* agree in rejecting Professor Torczyner's theory concerning the prophet Uriah as the subject of the most important of the Letters, and some incline to Professor Dussaud's view that the prophet referred to is Jeremiah. All agree, however, that the greatest credit is due to Professor Torczyner and his collaborators for the care and skill with which this magnificent edition of these most interesting documents has been produced. In this connection Mr. Harding's valuable hand-copies of the Letters deserve special mention.

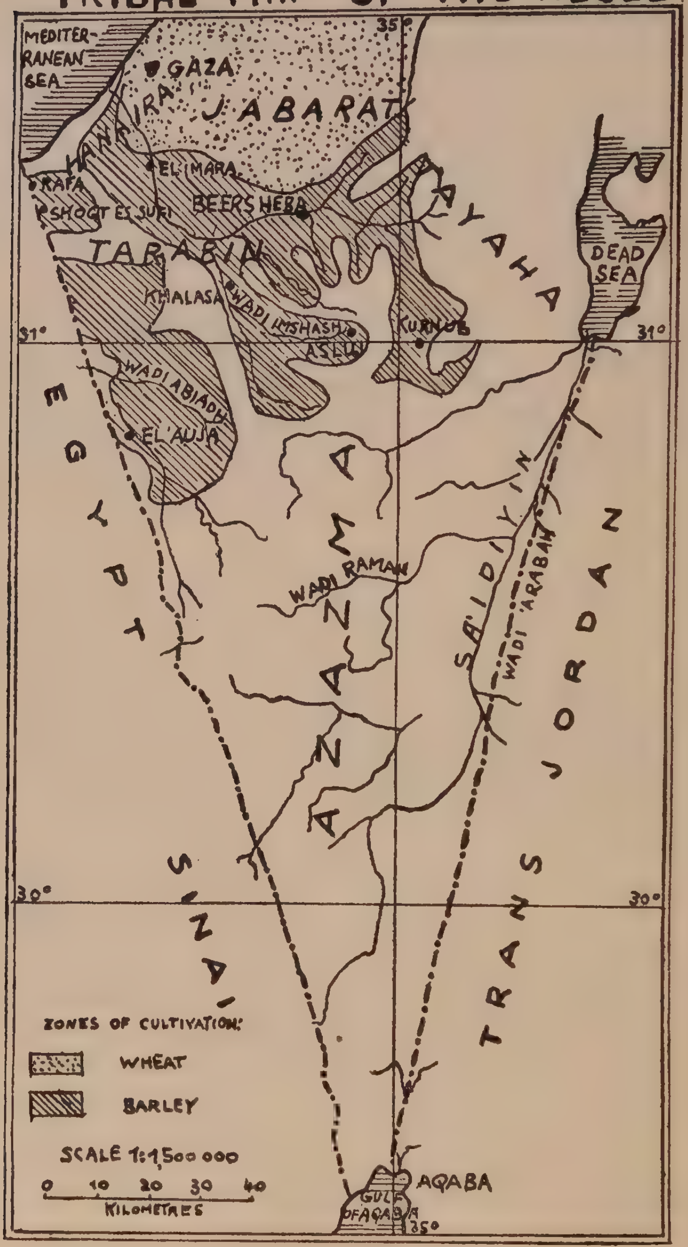
The excavation of Mari, under the skilled leadership of M. André Parrot, continues apace, and promises to rival Ras Shamra in interest. The campaign of 1937–8 was occupied with the excavation of the palace and the ziggurat. A number of fresh tablets were found in a workshop of the palace, and were immediately examined by M. Dossin who reported that they were concerned with metal-working. One group of tablets contains the names of more than a thousand men and women of the working-class, grouped in guilds. This discovery will no doubt considerably enlarge our knowledge of the pantheon and the population of Mari. Hitherto, the tablets give evidence concerning nine different chronological levels, ranging from the Partho-Sassanid period to the end of the Djemdet-nasr period. The publication of the tablets will be awaited with great interest.

Those who are interested in Jewish studies will be glad to know that the Soncino Press, following upon its great enterprise of a complete edition of the Talmud Babli in English, is now publishing a similar edition of the important Midrash Rabbah in English. Jewish Midrashic literature is a rich mine of folklore and tradition, and this edition should be of great interest to students of anthropology and the history of religions.

The attention of those who are interested in archaeology may be directed to a couple of important articles which have recently appeared in *Antiquity*. One, in December, 1938, by Professor Sidney Smith, entitled *The City Nuzu*, deals with the recent discoveries at that site, and with their bearing on the problem of the Hurrians. The other, in March, 1939, is by Professor V. Gordon Childe, under the title *India and the West before Darius*. It deals with the early Indus civilizations unearthed at Harappa and Mohenjo-daro, and the question of their relation to the early civilizations of Mesopotamia.

Early Ivories from Samaria, by J. W. Crowfoot and Grace M. Crowfoot. Special attention is drawn to the prospectus inserted in this number. The book is published at 20*s*. net, but this price is reduced to 10*s*. to annual subscribers of £1 1*s*. to either the Palestine Exploration Fund or the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem. Inland postage is 6*d*. and postage abroad 9*d*. extra. Orders should be addressed to the Secretary, Palestine Exploration Fund, 2 Hinde Street, London, W.1. A review of the book by Mr. R. D. Barnett, M.A., will appear in our next issue.

TRIBAL MAP OF THE NEGEB


MEDITERRANEAN SEA
GAZA
HANAJIRA
JABARAT
35°
EL IMARA
RAFA
SHOGT ES SUFI
BEERSHEBA
TIYAHA
DEAD SEA
TARABIN
KHALASA
WADI IMSHASH
ASLUJ
KURNUB
31°
31°
WADI ABIADH
EL AUJA
EGYPT
AZAZMA
WADI RAMAN
SA'IDIYIN
WADI 'ARABA
TRANS JORDAN
SINAI
30°
30°
ZONES OF CULTIVATION:
WHEAT
BARLEY
SCALE 1:1,500 000
0 10 20 30 40
KILOMETRES
AQABA
GULF OF AQABA
35°

BEDOUIN OF THE NEGEB

By Eliahu Epstein

Time has left the Nomad untouched and to-day, as for generations past, his is still one of the most primitive types of human society. He has learnt neither to resist natural forces nor to turn natural possibilities to his own good use. Conditions of life in the desert have bred in the man living within its boundaries an instinct of adaptation to his environment rather than of struggle against it, which is perhaps the mainspring of progress in a settled civilization. An ungrateful soil and dearth of water (except in a few scattered oases) have limited the desert dweller to pastoral pursuits, while conditions of pasturage have forced him to roam from spot to spot. Wherever the man of the desert went with his tents, his camels and his sheep, he took with him the same unchanging problem of how to wrest a scanty existence from the inhospitable soil without the means which would enable him to take advantage of any natural opportunities which might be offered. Thus, however often his camp site may have changed, the Bedou's routine of life and his needs remained unaltered and eventually hardened into a static heritage of unchanging customs and habits, a stagnant economy and a stationary cultural tradition.

The Bedou, however, to use the striking phrase of one of the famous students of Arabia, has often been not so much the son as the father of the desert. By raiding settled areas and harrying their cultivators, by allowing his flock to overrun and destroy existing vegetation, by damaging ancient irrigation systems and allowing them to fall into disrepair, the Bedou in past history has repeatedly helped the desert to encroach on the sown and thus expand its dominion far beyond its natural borders.

In its movements through history, the desert has been like a mighty sea with flood and ebbtides of its own. At certain periods the desert has swelled above its customary shores, destroying agriculture and inundating parts of the settled world which were turned into a barren expanse, later used as the grazing ground for the nomad's wandering flocks.

This, for example, is what happened in Transjordan, whose formerly flourishing countryside is to-day the camping ground of the Bedouin roving amidst the ruins of prosperous villages and populous cities submerged beneath the encroaching desert. The same picture of the man-made desert may be observed in many places in Syria and is even more evident in Iraq. Vast areas in these countries, famed in ancient times as the granaries of the Middle East, have become to-day nothing but a meagre refuge for the dwellers in the black tents of Kedar.

THE DESERT AGAINST CIVILIZATION

The history of the Negeb presents perhaps one of the most thrilling and dramatic chapters in the age-long battle between Desert and Civilization in the Middle East. It is important, however, for an understanding of the many problems of Southern Palestine to note that for long periods the process described above has here been reversed. In the Negeb, settled civilization has, from time to time, victoriously attacked and conquered the desert, penetrating, especially in the Byzantine period, far into the desert to establish outposts of human culture in what was the immemorial heritage of the nomads. Remains of ancient culture bear witness to the settlement activities developed by the Nabateans and the Byzantines in various parts of the Negeb across the length and breadth of the enormous Gaza-Aqaba-Dead Sea triangle. These feats of settlement testify to the constructive genius of these peoples and the high level of agriculture achieved by them. But even at the zenith of their ancient civilization, they remained islands in the surrounding sea of nomadism which awaited its opportunity to reduce the Negeb again to its " natural " state of barren wilderness. The main motive force that impelled the desert dweller of the Negeb to break into the boundaries of the cultivated areas, was neither religious nor racial fanaticism nor merely the lust for spoil. It was the nomad's deep-seated hatred of settled civilization, a hostility which still smoulders in the Bedouin world. The impact of this elemental antagonism not only shattered the Byzantine settlement, but at a later period uprooted the Moslem cultivators of the Negeb who also had to fight a losing battle to defend their homesteads against the attack of nomad tribesmen who were their brethren in faith.

There are no sufficient historical or archaeological data available to fix accurately the period in which settlement ceased in the Negeb and the Bedouin gained complete dominion which lasts until to-day.[1] There is reason to believe, however, that the fall of Negeb civilization was no sudden cataclysm and that, in addition to Bedou aggression, other factors have led to the destruction of civilization in the Negeb. The Bedouin onslaught on the settled Negeb was intensified with the Moslem conquest of Palestine and the widespread tribal movements which resulted from the effacement of religious and political boundaries in the Middle East after Mohammed. But the conflict between the nomad and the urban dweller and the settled cultivator of these Middle East countries continued for generations, resolving into a long and complicated series of struggles. In times of peace at home and abroad, the settled states held their own against nomad invasion, but at periods of outside conflicts, the Bedou on the borders gained the upper hand. The settled Negeb on the frontier between these two conflicting worlds, felt keenly the ups and downs of this long drawn-out struggle, succumbing in the end to the nomads who then reduced this land, miraculously fructified by man's endeavour, to its pristine state of chaos and devastation.

THE NEGEB BEDOUIN TO-DAY

Bedouin society is composed of tribal units, everyone of the desert dwellers belonging to one or other of the tribes. Pride in tribal history and family lineage forms an important element in the social make-up of Bedouin life. The tribal epic, legend of its heroes and stories of tribal exploits are the best preserved parts of Bedouin tradition. In many of these stories, no doubt, imagination has played no minor role and the grains of truth are mixed with names and events which had no real connection with the tribe, but which had been " borrowed " into its history during the course of years, for the sake of effect or a fine turn of phrase.

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[1] Pottery found in Sbeita points to the presence of a settled population in the Negeb as late as the twelfth century, i.e. 500 years after the Moslem conquest (v. C. Baly QUARTERLY STATEMENT OF THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND, April, 1935, p. 181).

The five Bedouin tribes indigenous to the Negeb and commonly grouped from earliest times under the generic name of " Gaza Tribes " are : Tarabin, Tayaha, 'Azazma, Jabarat and Hanajra.[1]

Each Bedou tribe (known as Qabilah) consists of a number of sub-tribes ('Ashirah),[2] and each sub-tribe is divided into sections (Hamulah) which in their turn consist of families (Ahl) forming the basic unit of Bedouin society. Every tribe has its own camping-ground within certain boundaries which are defined by tradition and guarded jealously by the members of the tribe. Conflicts about the frontiers between the tribes of the Negeb were not seldom the cause of fierce and long-lasting struggles in pre-War times.

The history of the Negeb tribes is meagre and obscure. It is not possible to determine with any certainty the origin of these tribes, their connection with the tribes of Arabia or the date of their migration to South Palestine. The names of the Negeb tribes, even the most important among them, arouse no interest when mentioned to tribesmen of neighbouring countries ; nor does the desert world think of them as on a par with any of the leading tribes in other parts of the East. The writer can substantiate this statement from his personal experience of meetings with tribesmen in the Syrian desert and Transjordan, and in particular of conversations with the tribal elders, the true bearers of desert tradition and history, who often display surprising knowledge of affairs of even their distant desert brethren. One of the reasons for the lack of

[1] Mr. 'Aref el-'Aref (v. Hebrew translation of his *History of Beersheba and its Tribes*, p. 130) mentions among his list of Beersheba tribes also the Sa'idiyin. It may be noted, however, that only about half of the Sa'idiyin habitually camp within the Negeb, the rest being found in the eastern part of Wadi 'Arabah, in Transjordan. According to the census of the Palestine population, 1931, p. 12, the Sa'idiyin in Palestine number only 639 souls. The official *Schedule of Villages and Tribal Areas* makes no mention of the Sa'idiyin.

[2] Altogether seventy-seven sub-tribes have been registered by Government in the Negeb.

standing of the Negeb Bedouin is the fact that, contrary to the " good form " of the desert, none of the Negeb tribes devotes itself solely to camel breeding but usually indulges also in some desultory cultivation. So rigid is the Bedouin code, that this is sufficient to send the Negeb tribes down in the desert social scale. In the eyes of the pure nomad pastoralists living solely from camel and, partly, sheep-breeding, the Negeb Bedouin are " a lesser breed without the law " and are disparagingly called " goat-breeders," a by no means honorific appellation in the desert.

The Negeb Bedouin's own tribal tradition of their origin is so hazy and confused that it provides no basis for any reliable conclusions. Their obscurity of descent is an important fact, explaining the comparative isolation of the Negeb tribes which do not seem to form an integral part of the nomad community of the Syrian desert and Arabia proper. This social separateness completes the geographical isolation of the Negeb Bedouin who form together with the Sinai tribesmen a closed nomad branch confined within the limited area of its wanderings and lacking almost all contact with the leading tribes of the neighbouring countries. The Dead Sea and the Wadi Arabah separate the tribes of the Negeb from those of Midian and of Transjordan. Owing to the difficult climatic conditions in the Wadi Arabah during the greater part of the year and the lack of security in this out of the way spot, it holds no attraction for the Negeb Bedouin who prefer to wander southwards to the Sinai or northwards to Judaea and even Samaria. Wadi Arabah which, in the days of the Nabateans, was the connecting corridor between Arabia and the Mediterranean, is to-day the main partition dividing the nomad world and serving as the eastern boundary of the wanderings of the Negeb tribes. There is, however, a strong bond between the Bedouin tribes of the Negeb and those of the Sinai, some of the former such as the Tarabin, the Tayaha and the 'Azazma being closely related by family ties and tribal tradition to Sinai tribes of the same name.

The oldest and the most important of the Negeb tribes is the Tayaha which, according to tradition, was the first to take possession of the Wilderness of Tih from which they derive their name. This tribe possesses the best lands of the Negeb and holds its principal highways. The largest of the Negeb tribes in size and the extent of its area is the Tarabin. The 'Azazma tribe, on the other hand, possesses the largest flocks of camels, sheep and goats which are the mainstay of this tribe which still subsists mainly from pastoral occupations. It may be pointed out that the 'Azazma tribe are among the latest comers to the Negeb and had to sustain a fierce struggle with other tribes for the mastery of the South-West region of the Negeb.

NEGEB STATISTICS

It is difficult, if not impossible, to provide any accurate figures for Bedouin tribes. The Bedou is extremely reluctant to give exact replies to even such innocent questions as to his name, his father's name, his tribe, his age, number of his sons, &c. He views every such questioning with grave suspicion as an attempt on the part of the authorities to dragoon him into paying higher taxes, or press him into military service or subject him to some other intolerable limitation of the traditional freedom and independence of the son of the desert. Special recognition is due, therefore, to the Government of Palestine which succeeded in taking a census of the nomad population, perhaps the first in Bedouin history. This was done at the time of the General Palestine Census of 1931,[1] and much of the success of this undertaking was due to the ability and knowledge of Bedouin psychology of Mr. 'Aref el-'Aref the District Officer of Beersheba, who is well known for his scholarly investigations of tribal life.

The Census Report for 1931 provides the following figures[2] for the Negeb Bedouin (Beersheba District) together with the observations and comments of Mr. Eric Mills, Director of the Census[3]:

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[1] The figure for the Beersheba Bedouin provided in the 1922 census (72898) was based on an estimate and not on a census registration carried out on scientific lines, and the same holds true of the nomad censuses published in Egypt, Iraq and other oriental countries.

[2] *Census of Palestine*, 1931, Population of Villages, Towns and Administrative Areas by E. Mills, pp. 7–12.

[3] *Census of Palestine*, 1931, Vol. I, Palestine, Part I, Report by E. Mills, pp. 328–35.

Tarabin	16,330 souls
Tayaha	14,163 ,,
'Azazma	8,661 ,,
Jabarat	4,432 ,,
Hanajra	3,756 ,,
Sa'idiyin	639 ,,
Total	47,981 ,,

The Negeb Bedouin wander over an enormous area of 11,872,000 dunams (11,872 sq. km.) equalling half of Palestine's territory.[1] The density of population of the Beersheba territory[2] is thus only 4.3 per sq. km.[3], compared with the figure of 97 per sq. km. for the rest of Palestine at the end of 1937.[4]

It should be remembered that population figures for the Negeb are influenced to some extent by migration of tribesmen from Sinai in years of drought. In recent years, however, Sinai tribesmen have been attracted by the tales of Palestine's prosperity, which have penetrated even to the remotest parts of the desert world. The Sinai Bedou, migrating to Palestine to try his luck in this more fortunate territory, usually leaves his tent and his family in the Negeb and goes to the villages and towns further north to seek employment. This phenomenon is particularly noticeable at harvest time and during the citrus season.

The Bedouin Economy in the Negeb

Before the war the Negeb Bedouin depended for their livelihood almost entirely on the breeding of camels, sheep and horses. Camel and sheep milk formed the staple food of the

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[1] Palestine's settled area amounts to 13,611,000 dunams (13,611 sq. km.), according to the 1931 Palestine Census Report, p. 2.

[2] The total population of the Beersheba District was, according to the Palestine Census, 51,082, v. Census, p. 12.

[3] This coefficient is applicable to the whole of the Negeb ; it must, however, be remembered (see attached map) that with the exception of the 'Azazma all the other tribes are concentrated in the northern part of the District, and the density there is greater therefore than in the southern part.

[4] It may be added that the Sinai Peninsula numbered a Bedouin population of 15,059 on an area of 60,000 sq. km. so that population density was 0.4 per sq. km. (v. Statistical Annuary of Egypt, 1934–5).

Negeb tribesmen. Furthermore the Tayaha tribe made profitable use of their strategic position on the Pilgrim's Way to Mecca and on the main road from Palestine to Egypt. They exploited in every possible way the pilgrims and other travellers crossing their desert territory as well as supplying them with guides and camels.

Plunder was an important item in the pre-war economy of the Bedouin in the Negeb as in other parts of the desert world, providing them from time immemorial with a large part of their income until the rise of the new political régime after the war curtailed the Bedouin's freedom.

E. H. Palmer, the well-known traveller and student of Bedouin life in Sinai and the Negeb in the 'sixties, observed of the Tayaha tribe[1] that once a year they gathered in great strength, sometimes as many as a thousand warriors, to go out on foray against the neighbouring tribes and plunder all that they could lay their hands on. When Palmer visited the Negeb he met tribesmen returning from one of their successful periodical raids, bringing with them as spoil, a flock of as much as 600 head of camel and sheep.

Before the War some limited measure of cultivation was practised by some of the Negeb tribes, in particular the weaker among them, who made desultory use of their more cultivable areas to sow barley and wheat for their own needs. This occupation, however, never held any attraction for the Bedou, disliking any type of work because of his natural laziness and more particularly the tilling of the soil because of his inborn scorn of the cultivator—" the fellah "—a term of opprobrium in his language, used as a symbol of weakness and faintheartedness, the two cardinal sins in the Bedouin code. He would have no hesitation in giving up his plot of land and throwing off the indignity of agriculture for any other however meagre form of livelihood. It was natural, therefore, that under the rule of the Bedouin those regions of the Negeb which had been cultivated in past periods of its history and had supported populous villages and towns, should have again reverted to desert. The Negeb Bedou had never bothered to preserve any of his predecessors' achievements, however obviously these might have been to his advantage. He felled almost all the trees in the Negeb, which fulfilled an important climatic function and which with a modicum of care could have continued until this day to provide him with an important source of fuel. Nor did he take any pains to maintain properly the reservoirs which were constructed in the days of Nabatean and Byzantine rule, although with their disappearance man could not continue to exist in this thirsty land.

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[1] E. H. Palmer, *The Desert of the Exodus*, Part II, 1871, p. 295.

No information is available to allow an estimate of the number of Negeb Bedouin engaged in agriculture before the war nor are there any data to show the extent of the area under cultivation. Of the Negeb tribes, the Tarabin and some of the Tayaha were the first to make agricultural use of isolated plots in the wadis and the plateaux. The Tarabin were apparently the more agriculturally advanced and successful of all the Bedouin tribes who attempted cultivation of their land west of Beersheba, the best and most fertile area of the Negeb.[1] The 'Azazma were the most agriculturally backward of the tribes and remain so in fact to-day, cultivating only a small part of their land, and continuing to concentrate chiefly on camel and sheep raising.

Under the Turkish régime, various experiments were made to encourage the agricultural settlement of Bedouin tribes in the Negeb. The Turks hoped by this policy to improve conditions of security in south Palestine and to strengthen their hold on the districts on the Egyptian border. But the Bedouin saw through the motives of their Turkish masters. These early experiments thus only served to increase the Bedouin fear and aversion for any attempts for their settlement and to retard rather than promote their transition to agricultural occupations.

THE NEGEB AFTER THE WAR

The aftermath of the War brought fundamental changes in the life of the Bedouin in the Middle East. His whole world was undermined by this upheaval which changed entirely the social and economic conditions of his existence. Technical progress and inventions introduced to the oriental world were to have a lasting repercussion on the essentials of the Bedouin economy. The train, the car, and the aeroplane provided new means of communication which gradually ousted the camel and the horse and almost destroyed the economic value of animal breeding which was the foundation of the nomad pastoralists' life. Camel prices slumped from LP. 20 before the war to LP. 4–5 or even less to-day while the prices of Arab horses—the pride of the Bedou—declined still more heavily. Even sheep breeding was similarly hard hit by the decay of the native woollen clothes industry under the pressure of foreign competition. On the other hand, with the new security from raids, the settled population could take to sheep breeding, thus competing with the Bedou in his erstwhile monopoly occupation. The fall in sheep prices also contributed to the economic deterioration of the condition of the Bedouin and in particular of the 'Azazma tribe which relied chiefly on camel and sheep breeding. Nor could the Bedou any longer have resource to his traditional subsidiary income from raid and plunder. The angel of peace who now spread his wings over the Bedouin tents brought the strange tidings that no longer could the Bedou try to improve his lot after years of drought, or rid himself of his burden of debt, by raiding his neighbours as in days of yore. Mr. 'Aref el'Aref[1] mentions among other causes of economic deterioration among the Bedouin, the prohibition of the free sale of salt, of free planting of various kinds of tobacco and of free trade in arms, in pre-war days all of them yielding important subsidiary income.

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[1] A. Musil, *Arabia Petraea*, Vol. III, 1908, p. 32.

The sharp decline in the Bedouin's former sources of livelihood gave a strong impetus towards increased though perhaps unwilling cultivation of the soil as the only salvation from economic doom. The Bedou who previously tilled small plots for his own needs now took to cultivation on a wider scale for sales to an outside market to secure some income compensating him for losses in other branches of his economy. It would be a mistake to presume that the Negeb Bedou, like his brethren elsewhere in the east has submitted for good to this enforced change from a free pastoral life to the more arduous agricultural labour and the prospect of permanent settlement on the soil. It is a revealing fact that the Bedouin attitude towards settled cultivation has not changed even now that his livelihood depends on it. To-day as ever, the Bedou despises

[1] *Bedouin Tribes of Beersheba* (Hebrew Translation), Ch. 34.

agricultural toil and is only too pleased if he can lease his land to a tenant on almost any terms so that he can avoid working it himself.[1] The older Bedou, for example, will send his young sons and even his daughters to plough his fields (as the writer had the opportunity of observing when he visited the Negeb some time ago). He has no heart for the tillage of the earth and no interest in his work or his tools. Any loans or advances he may receive for the purpose of his farming he is inclined to spend for other purposes. The Bedou, whom circumstances have forced into the hated mould of the agriculturist, evinces little desire to become rooted in the soil and it is perhaps because of this that the post-war expansion of agricultural cultivation in the Negeb has not led to any marked improvement in his life or any real advance in the development of this territory. The Negeb experience of the last twenty years has provided no constructive contribution to the solution of the Bedouin problem, one of the gravest and most complicated questions facing the Middle East to-day.

The social life of the Bedouin has been similarly undergoing a period of confusion and disintegration. The new conditions are destroying the nomad's old traditions which were for generations the backbone of his life and the mainstay of his culture and his moral code. These traditions raised the life of the desert dweller to the level of an organized society, endowed with laws and customs regulating the conduct of the individual and the group. The old tradition has been shattered, but no new culture has as yet grown up from its ruins. Bedouin society has lost the sheet anchor of its old laws and in the new mode of life which has been forced upon it, has as yet tapped no fresh springs of moral guidance. Where is the Bedou to find the spiritual stimulus necessary for the revaluation of his moral values to meet changes in the material forms of his existence which he is unable to comprehend and unwilling to accept ?

AGRICULTURE IN THE NEGEB

The present forms of Bedouin economy in the Negeb reveal its transitional nature. It is to-day a half-way house between nomad pastoralism and settled agriculture, cultivation being engaged in only during the short seasons for sowing and harvesting. Of the Negeb's total area of about 12,000,000 dunams, 2,109,234 metric dunams[1] were under cultivation in 1934–5. This comparatively large area is worked under the most primitive of agricultural systems with harvests obtained from the same piece of land only once in two or three years. As the Bedou leaves parts of his land as uncultivated fallow for a year or two, we may calculate that the area under some kind of cultivation in the Negeb amounts to about 3,500,000 dunams. A comparison with figures for 1928 would show that there has since been an increase of about 750,000 dunams in the cultivated areas.

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[1] The leasing of land to tenants is widespread particularly among the Jabarat Bedouin who live in the vicinity of villages and who obtain labour for the cultivation of their land from among the fellahin of S. Judea.

The boundaries of the cultivated zone in the Negeb are shown on the map attached. At some distance south of el'Auja and Kurnub cultivation ceases except for isolated patches in the wadis. The cultivated zone which forms the north-west corner of the Negeb does not form one continuous area, but is broken up by uncultivated stretches of quicksands, and gravel slopes.

The cultivation methods used are of the most primitive. In spring and autumn the Bedou fellah scratches the surface of the soil with his hand-made plough and then prays for rain on which his agriculture is entirely dependent. After sowing his meagre crops the Bedou feels himself freed from duty to the soil and returns gratefully to his flocks, with which he wanders in customary search of pasturage. He comes back in time for the short period of harvest and threshing.

This is the order of things in years of sufficient rainfall in the Negeb when there is a precipitation of at least 100 mm., the minimum when properly distributed, needed for barley growing and 200 mm. for wheat. If there is a shortage of rain, not only are his crops endangered, but the pasturage for his flock is also imperilled. As no provision is made for any kind of water conservation in years of plentiful rain, the Bedou thus runs the risk of suffering both hunger and thirst in times of drought when the wells and wadis are dry. On the other hand, when there are heavy downpours of rain, not only is the water lost, but in the present absence of any kind of water regulation, the sudden overflowing of wadis may result in floods endangering life and property as has happened this winter near el'Auja. In times of drought the Bedou seeks relief in migrating to more fortunate regions. Many of the Negeb Bedouin trek to the Sinai if that region has not been simultaneously affected by drought, but far more of them find greater attraction in Judea or even Samaria, some even wandering as far afield as Jenin or Tulkarm. This Bedouin migration in settled areas invariably exercises a disturbing effect on the labour market and on conditions of security.

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[1] According to figures for 1934–5 provided by the Department of Agriculture and Fisheries (v. Area of Cultivable Land in Palestine, Jewish Agency, Jerusalem, 1936, p. 26).

Barley is the most important crop in the Bedouin agriculture accounting for about 80 per cent. of the total area sown. It is followed by wheat, durrah, water melons and beans. According to the figures of the Department of Agriculture and Fisheries the following areas were sown to various crops in the Negeb in 1934–5 :

	Metric dunams
Barley	1,700,000
Wheat	400,000
Durrah	5,000
Water melons	2,000
Beans	500
Other crops	1,734
	2,109,234

The wheat belt in the Negeb at present extends from 31° 15′ latitude to 35° longitude. East of this longitude and south of this latitude no wheat is grown, the chief crop being barley which is also cultivated on a considerable scale in the wheat zone. It is only in the neighbourhood of el'Imara (in the direction of Gaza) and from Beersheba to Hebron where the average rainfall is 200 mm. that it is usual to sow wheat regularly in considerable quantities.

The 1931 Census[1] provides interesting data concerning the ownership of land in the Negeb and the numbers dependent for their livelihood on agriculture and pastoralism :

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[1] *Census of Palestine*, pp. 334, 335.

Landowners	7,869
Tenants	2,508

It should not be assumed from these figures that all landowners actually cultivate their land. It is important to note the high proportion of tenants in the nomads' primitive and impoverished economy.[1] A notable feature among the Negeb tribes is the progressive concentration of the land in the hands of the Sheikhs who by this process are developing into effendis, exploiting the Bedouin of their own as well as of other tribes, who are their tenants. The number of persons described in the Census as deriving their livelihood from agriculture was given as 42,868, representing 89.3 per cent. of the Bedouin population, while only 5,113 were registered as occupied solely in sheep breeding, 10.7 per cent. of the total. These figures indicate the small percentage of pure nomads among the Negeb Bedouin, the majority of whom may to-day be classed as semi-nomads.

Most of the land cultivated by the Bedouin in the Negeb is Mewat land.[2] It is of interest to note that the Bedouin know no form of communal ownership of land (Mush'a) such as has been until recently a widely spread form of land ownership in Palestine villages. Each Bedou holds a piece of land which he regards as his own private property and not that of the tribe.

The three and a half million dunams of primitively worked land in the south do not to-day yield enough even to suffice the meagre needs of the Bedouin and afford any adequate basis for their existence under the changed conditions of life. One may ask whether the nomad Bedou in the Negeb will be able to break away from the fatalistic acceptance of natural conditions bred in him by his environment and to transform himself into a settled cultivator, by overcoming these natural obstacles as the Nabateans and the Byzantines succeeded in doing before him. Otherwise his life as a farmer will continue to be precarious even when he bows to his fate as a fellah.

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[1] It is unlikely that the number of Bedouin has changed greatly since the census though it may be assumed that if anything, the population of the Negeb has decreased since during the prosperity period a number of Bedouin left the Negeb for the villages and towns in Palestine. Re the low birth-rate among the Bedouin v. Census of Palestine Report, Part I, pp. 328–35.

[2] Land without registered ownership, not used for public purposes by villages.

The writer had the opportunity of studying at first hand the problems and difficulties of this transition from pastoralism to settled agriculture among the Bedouin of Syria. The main conclusion to be drawn is that the solution of this problem does not depend solely on technical and financial factors, but to a great extent on a change in the Bedouin mentality and outlook. The fellah of pre-war days was a pitiable creature, the easy and defenceless prey of the exploitation of the effendis, the oppression of the authorities and the raids of the Bedouin. There is still to-day nothing in the peasants' lot to appeal to the heart of the nomad and encourage him to turn permanently to cultivation, even though his desert may be proving a treacherous quicksand beneath his feet.

EMERITUS PROFESSOR A. R. S. KENNEDY

SEMITIC scholarship suffered a grave loss on 24th October last in the death of Archibald Robert Stirling Kennedy, D.D., LL.D., who occupied with the highest distinction professional chairs in Hebrew and Semitic Languages in Aberdeen University from 1887 till 1895, and in Edinburgh University from 1895 till 1937, the year of his jubilee as an academic teacher. It was generally recognized that Dr. Kennedy stood in the front rank of Semitic scholars and he was rightly regarded as a master of Rabbinic lore. He published a number of commentaries in the Century Bible and Temple Bible series, of special importance being the volumes on Samuel and Leviticus. While still a very young scholar Dr. Kennedy translated the Porta Linguarum Orientalium grammars in Hebrew, Assyrian, Syriac and Arabic, thus giving early proof of the width of his linguistic interests. It was especially, however, in the field of Biblical Archaeology that he was to make his mark. He paid several visits to Palestine and gave life-long study to the subject. The ripe fruits of his researches are to be found in the Bible Dictionaries, edited by Cheyne and Black and by Hastings. In the Encyclopaedia Biblica he wrote a series of articles chiefly on food and utensils. There are numerous contributions from his pen in Hastings' large Dictionary of the Bible, especially note-worthy being the articles on education, money, phylacteries, tabernacle, weights and measures. Finally in Hastings' one volume Dictionary of the Bible there are more than 150 articles over his name covering practically the whole range of Biblical archaeology. Special mention should be made of the masterly contributions dealing with sacrifice and offering, synagogue, temple and tabernacle.

Dr. Kennedy's distinction as a scholar was recognized in 1920 by his election as the second president of the Society for Old Testament Studies. He established what is probably a record as a teacher of teachers. He played an important part in the founding of the Church of Scotland Memorial Church and Hospice in Jerusalem which has served the interests among others of numerous Scottish students of Biblical archaeology. Countless friends and admirers mourn the passing of a singularly lovable personality who combined the profoundest and most painstaking scholarship with simplicity of heart, whimsical humour and abounding charity.

NORMAN W. PORTEOUS.

THE POTTERY VESSELS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

By A. M. Honeyman

The object of this study[1] is to attach the names given by the Old Testament for different vessels of pottery (כְּלֵי חֶרֶשׂ Lev. vi, 21, Jer. xxxii, 14) to the various types supplied by archaeological excavation. Precise identification can be made with certainty, or even with probability, in only a few cases. Several circumstances limit the attainable results. The volume of pottery available is sufficiently ample to let us know the most frequent types, but the Biblical references are few,[2] and we cannot argue *ex silentio* that a type has disappeared, or has not yet appeared, from the fact that a writer of a certain period does not use the word we would expect him to use. Again the Biblical references are incidental ; detailed information as to material, texture, form and finish, whereby vessels might readily be identified, is just what the Biblical writers do not give, and we can never be quite sure whether the writers are using their own word for an earlier period or are using an archaic term with perhaps an inadequate idea of what it signifies. It will be seen too that as one form has many uses, so one name may, in the course of the centuries, refer to many very varied vessels. On the other hand there are local fashions in pottery ; there must also have been local terms for certain articles. And even where it is certain that there is no question of dialect, one term may be used at the same period and in the same place for two or more different types ; there is a point at which " bowl " and " basin " are equally accurate names for the one article. The word סִיר appears to have a special and a generic sense ; and there may be others. But from the allusions in the Old Testament, from statements—usually no more than hints—as to function, volume or contents, from the history of the word in post-Biblical Hebrew, occasionally and at best very generally from the congeners in the sister tongues, and from the identifications tacitly made by the authors of the versions with types current in their own land and time,[1] indications are not wanting which suggest when they do not demand, one identification rather than another. And that absolute precision appears unattainable is no reason for not attempting such precision as may be attainable.[2]

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[1] The writer is indebted to Prof. W. F. Albright, under whose direction at the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem this investigation was undertaken, and to the late Prof. A. R. S. Kennedy for criticism and suggestions.

[2] Thirty separate words are dealt with in this article. The size of this vocabulary attests the complexity and precision of Hebrew usage in regard to this important field of daily life. But among these words there are no fewer than 7 *hapax eiremena plus* 2 words occurring only once under the category of ceramics, and 5 words occurring only twice in the Old Testament.

The following words, wrongly understood as a pottery vessel of some sort by the English versions, are not dealt with :

אַגְמוֹן=reed, bulrush.
אוֹב=water-skin.
אֲשִׁישָׁה=raisin-cake.
גֻּלָּה=pool, pond (Joshua xv, 19=Judges i, 15).
דְּלִי=bucket (of skin or leather, later possibly of metal).[3]
חֵמֶת=water-skin.
נֹאד=water-skin.
עֲטִין=skin-bottle or vessel of the body (so LXX, Vulg and Targ).

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[1] This class of evidence must be put last, since it usually represents no continuous tradition, but rather the conjecture of people more or less imperfectly acquainted with Biblical Palestinian conditions. The LXX is particularly unsatisfactory in its rendering of ceramic terms, as also in regard to weights and measures, and indeed wherever a technical knowledge of *Realien* is demanded.

[2] The only recent attempt at the identification of the pottery vessels of the Old Testament is that of Galling in the *Biblisches Reallexikon* (1937), s.v. *Keramik*, which came to the writer's notice after the present study was virtually completed. Galling's marshalling of the archaeological evidence is excellent, but the almost complete absence of Biblical references diminishes the value of the article and leads its author to many dubious conclusions. Types from before and after Old Testament times are included, but only a few of the Biblical terms are dealt with. The difference in approach is alone sufficient to justify the present study.

[3] At Samaria not before the Hellenistic period (*Samaria*, I, 363).

The following vessels, which appear only in connection with the cult, and/or are distinctly stated to be of metal, are likewise excluded from discussion :
אֲגַרְטָל, גֻּלָּה, כַּף (Exod. xxv, 29, &c.), כְּפוֹר, מָאן, מַחְתָּה, מְנַקִּית,
קַשְׂוָה, קְעָרָה.

The Hebrew terms follow in alphabetical order.[1]

(1) אַגָּן *'aggān.*—† Exod. xxiv, 6 (E), Isa. xxii, 24, Ct. vii, 3. In Exodus the *'aggānôt* (LXX κρατῆρας) are the vessels in which Moses places the blood of the victims in order to sprinkle the people in covenant. In Mishnaic times the vessel used for a similar purpose (צְלֹחִית, *cf. inf.* No. (24)) was liable to be too small to admit the bunch ot hyssop used as an aspergillum (Parah xii, 2). In the Song of Solomon the sense seems to be—*vulva tua, ut virginis, est crater opertus* (or *lunulatus?*) ; *ne careat vini* (i.q. *seminis*) *mixtione*,[2] and both LXX and Vulg render as " mixing-bowl."

In Isaiah text and sense are none too certain (*cf.* LXX and Field: *Hexaplorum, ad loc*), but כֹּל כְּלֵי הַקָּטָן is certainly a gloss. The כְּלֵי הָאַגָּנוֹת are not opposed in size and weight to כָּל-כְּלֵי הַנְּבָלִים, but, in accordance with the well-known Hebrew idiom, classed together with them as vessels which are capable of being suspended from a peg, though only at the risk of bringing down both peg and vessel. The *'aggān* is thus a vessel of fair size, found in most houses, probably provided with a handle and in all likelihood used for a different purpose from the *nébel* (*cf. inf.* No. (16)).

The root אגן="circular, round," appears in Ass. *agan(n)u* " bowl," Ar. أُجنة " ball of the cheek," &c. The word itself is used in the Talmud for a bowl which is filled with cress (Sabb 110a), placed over the mouth of a cask (Ab Zar 31a), used for kneading (Pes 30b), and even for the bathtub in which R. Zira sat (Ber 22a). The word is not known in

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[1] All ceramic references are listed, and, in brackets, other relevant references. † before the list indicates that the word does not occur in any other connection.

[2] So generally Haupt in JBL xxi, 68; for a slightly different interpretation see Dussaud: *Cantique de Cantiques* (1919), p. 100.

Phoenician, but occurs in Ugaritian (Poem C (*Lovely and Gracious Gods*), 11, 15, 31, 36).

The vessel which most nearly approximates in shape to a *krater* and at the same time answers to the above conditions is the large deep two-handled ring-based bowl which appears in the Late Bronze and continues with increasing frequency and slight variety of rim and general form through the Early Iron Age. *Cf.* AASOR xii, §§ 54, 92, Pls. XLVII, No. 13 and 23, Nos. 5–6=50, Nos. 7–8. See fig. 1.

(2) אָסוּךְ *'āsûk.*—†II K iv, 2. LXX (ἀλλ' ἢ ὃ ἀλέιψομαι ἔλαιον)[1] and Vulg (*parum olei, quo unguar*) misunderstand the word, which is rightly taken by Targ, Pesh and the Jewish commentators (Qimhi, Rashi and RaLBaG, supported by R. Jonah) as a noun[2] from the root סוּךְ "anoint," and signifying some sort of vessel to hold oil for anointing. If this is not the smaller oil-jar with ring-base, three handles and vertical spout belonging to Early Iron II (AASOR xii, pl. 54, Nos. 1–3), then we lack the Biblical term both for this and for the larger storage oil-jar (ib. Pl. LIII, Nos. 1–3). For no other purpose would so many handles and so small a spout be required on so small a vessel; *cf.* ib. § 106. See fig. 2(*a* and *b*).

(3) בַּקְבֻּק *baqbuq.*—† 1 Kings xiv, 3 (LXX στάμνον), Jer. xix, 1, 10 (LXX βῖκος). The passage in Jer. states that the *baqbuq* was of earthenware and suggests that it was a common form. In 1 Kings it is filled with honey[3] and taken by the wife of Jeroboam I on a journey from Shechem to Shiloh, to be offered as a gift to the prophet Ahijah. The onomatopoetic etymology of the word, which reappears in Syriac and Arabic with the fundamental idea of "gurgling," accords with the Biblical references in pointing to a bottle-shaped container,

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[1] Lucian, however, has a duplicate rendering—*αλλ' ἢ ἀγγεῖον ἐλαίου ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ ὃ ἀλείψομαι.* *'Αγγεῖον* is used elsewhere in the LXX for בּוֹר, כִּכָּר, כְּלִי and נֶבֶל.

[2] Surely absolute state in appositional construction; vid. GK² § 131 d, and *cf.* BDB s.v.

[3] The translation of דְּבַשׁ as "fruit-syrup" in accordance with Arabic دِبس (as opposed to عَسَل "honey") has no more basis than would the rendering of לֶחֶם as "meat" to agree with Arabic لَحم. Honey is subject to fermentation; *cf.* Pliny: Nat. Hist. XI, 15; it is specifically prohibited in Lev. ii, 11.

and the *baqbuq* may safely be identified with the ring-burnished " water-decanter " of the excavators. The " water-decanter " emits a gurgling sound when water is poured from it, yet the neck is not so narrow that *debaš* could not be poured from it ; the absence of a spout is no disadvantage where the contents are of thickish consistency ; the size and the presence of a handle make it suitable for carrying ; the shape readily explains the—originally jocular—proper names בַּקְבּוּק (Ezra ii, 51, Neh. vii, 53) בַּקְבֻּקְיָה (Neh. xi, 17, xii, 9, 25), perhaps also בֻּקִּיָּהוּ (1 Chron. xxv, 4, 13) and בֻּקִּי (Num. xxxiv, 22, 1 Chron. v, 31, vi, 31, Ezra vii, 4).[1] It is interesting to note that as this form does not occur in the post-exilic strata of Palestinian excavations,[2] so the *baqbuq* is not mentioned in the post-exilic Biblical literature (nor in the Mishnah). Examples are shown in AASOR xii, pl. 59, Nos. 1–6, and fig. 3.

(4) גָּבִיעַ *gābî'a.*—Jer. xxxv, 5. The cup with which Joseph served Pharaoh (Gen. xliv, 2 ff. esp. 11) does not strictly enter into the question since it was of silver, nor the *g^ebî'îm* on the arms of the golden *m^enôrāh* in the tabernacle (Exod. xxv, 31–34, xxxvii, 17–20). In Jeremiah the *g^ebî'îm*, in contradistinction to the *kôsôt* (*cf. inf.* (No. 7)), must be the serving vessels (as in Gen.). LXX non-committally translates κεράμιον, and Targ and Vulg, quite suitably, כלידין and *scyphos*. In the context it is unlikely that the bowls would be of metal. The root is גבע " be high, swell, project." But etymology is no safe guide for nuances of meaning, and it is not necessary to look for a particularly tall or projecting vessel. The most plausible identification is with the one-handled jug with pinched spout found in Early Iron I and later ;[3] in form and function it is a typical οἰνοχόη. Yet it is difficult to see how the ornamental excrescences on the limbs of the *m^enôrāh* could resemble " wine-jugs shaped like almond-blossoms." See fig. 4(*a* and *b*).

(5) דּוּד *dûd.*—1 Sam. ii, 14, Job xli, 12, 2 Chron. xxxv, 13. *Dûd* belongs to the class of words which only secondarily denote a ceramic article. In 2 Kings x, 7, Jer. xxiv, 1 (דּוּדָאֵי),

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[1] See Noth: *Die Israelitischen Personennamen*, 226, *cf.* 105.

[2] *Cf.* AASOR xii, § 111, p. 83.

[3] See AASOR xii, § 111 ; pl. 58, Nos. 4–6.

2, 2, Ps. lxxxi, 7, it signifies "basket," used for carrying figs, human heads, and—by implication—clay for bricks. For such contents a medium-sized deepish receptacle would be required. At Rās el-Šamrah vessels of the same name (*d d* in RS 1929, *Syria* x, 12, lines 1, 7, 13; 3, line 44) containing oil or barley were set in the ground as part of the fertility rite; but these were broad-shouldered *amphorae* (*cf. Syria* xiii (1932), p. 3), and no such use is associated with the Hebrew *dûd* of pottery, which in the Old Testament is used solely for cooking. Two of the references are in connection with sacrifice and cult, and in Chronicles a metal pot may be intended,[1] but Job makes it clear that word and vessel were in ordinary use. The segregation of the various terms for cooking-vessels from each other is particularly difficult,[2] but by the method of excluding types otherwise identified with fair certainty, we are left with the deep round-bottomed single-handled cooking-pot; see fig. 11.

(6) כַּד *kad.*—Gen. xxiv, 14–18, 20, 43, 45f., Judges vii, 16, 19 f., 1 Kings xvii, 12–16, xviii, 34, Eccles. xii, 6. According to Genesis this vessel could be carried on a woman's shoulder and was used for fetching water. So it is liable to be broken at the cistern (Ecclesiastes). LXX regularly translates the word by ὑδρεία "a water-pot."[3] It was customary to store flour in such vessels;[4] the widow of Çarephath had a handful of flour in the *kad* (1 Kings xviii, 12). In Judges each of Gideon's 300 men has a torch in a *kad*; they must thus have been numerous and easily obtainable. The word continues in common use in post-Biblical Hebrew, and the fact that all the Biblical references, save one, are early, may be regarded as accidental. There can be little doubt that the *kad* is the hole-mouthed water-jar or pitcher; *cf.* PEFA II (1912–13), pl.

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[1] So also in Samuel, acc. LXX (εἰς τὸ χαλκίον) which is doubtless wrong.

[2] The writer is unable to follow Galling's separation of *dûd* and *pārûr* from *sîr* and *qallaḥat* as "*Schüssel*" from "*Kochtopf*".

[3] Never by κάδος, the Greek derivative from our word (*cf.* Lagarde: *Bildung der Nomina*, 104) Κάδος appears as a measure equivalent to an ἀμφορεῦς or μετρητής, i.e. 1½ Roman *amphorae* or about 9 gallons. The word occurs twice in the LXX, once to render דְּלִי, i.e. in the sense which it bears in Modern Greek (*cf.* Ar. قادوس), and once, quite rightly, to render בַּת (about 36.44 litres or 8¼ gallons).

[4] *Cf.* the remark of A. R. S. Kennedy in Enc. Bib. I, 887.

xix ; AASOR xii, pl. 52, Nos. 1–9. These jars remain in large numbers ; their size and shape make them suitable for carrying on the shoulder and the " hole-mouth " makes them easy to fill and prevents splashing.[1] See fig. 5.

(7) כּוֹס *kôs*.—†Gen. xl, 11 ff., 2 Sam. xii, 3, 1 Kings vii, 26=2 Chron. iv, 5, Isa. li, 17, 22, Jer. xvi, 7, xxv, 15, 17, 28, xxv, 5, xlix, 12 (li, 7), Ezek. xxiii, 31, 32, 33, Hab. ii, 16, Ps. xi, 6, xvi, 5, xxiii, 5, lxxv, 9, cxvi, 13, Prov. xxiii, 31, Lam. iv, 21. Outstanding among these references, all of which speak of the *kôs* as a drinking vessel, are 1 Kings vii, 26, where the *kôs* has a distinct " lip," Ezek. xxiii, 32, which distinguishes broad and deep cups, and 2 Sam. xii, 3, where it is shared by a lamb. Usually, if not invariably,[2] it is an individual cup and the absence of any reference to a handle is noteworthy. Open cups of about 8 cms. diameter, without handles, are frequent at all levels (see any archaeological publication) and abundantly illustrate the Biblical mode of drinking.

(8) כִּיּוֹר *kiyyôr*.—1 Sam. ii, 14, Zech. xii, 6. Apart from the numerous cult-references, the word appears only in the list of pots in which sacrificial meat was cooked at Shiloh, and for a vessel in which fire was carried from place to place. The word is to be connected with *kiuru* and is probably Sumerian in origin.[3] 2 Chron. gives the dimensions of the *kiyyôr* which served as a rostrum for Solomon to stand and kneel on as five by five by three cubits. Assuming roughly the same proportions for the secular vessel we have a possible *kiyyôr* in the broad handleless cooking pot of Early Iron I (and Late Bronze) ; *cf*. AASOR xii, § 55 and pl. 47, No. 11. See fig. 12.

(9) כִּירַיִם *kîráyim*.—†Lev. xi, 35. These are distinct from the כְּלֵי חֶרֶשׂ for which separate prescription is made in v. 33 only as not being vessels which would *contain* uncleanness. Qimhi's explanation that the word is dual because two

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[1] The larger vessels grouped by Galling (loc. cit. i-m) with our *kad* are too heavy for a woman to carry in comfort and too unwieldy and narrow-mouthed to serve as lanterns.

[2] Lam. iv, 21, is not an exception, the sense being—"Thou, Edom, wilt also be served (after a portion has been dealt to thy neighbours)." *Cf.* Jer. xxv, 5, and No. (4), *supra*.

[3] Albright in JAOS XXXVI 232, followed by Friedrich.

pots were supported on it is forced. Maimonides suggests that two stones were used for the purpose, and for an early period at least his observation is correct. But stones would have been cast away ; the *kîráyim* were put out of commission by being broken up. At P's date, therefore, ceramic stands or braziers were commonly used to support cooking-vessels over the fire. Some of the pot-stands illustrated in CPP § 96 and AASOR xii, pl. 71, Nos. 7–13, may have been used for this purpose ; they would carry any of the usual cooking-pots and would effectively concentrate heat. From the same root comes כּוּר *kûr* " smelting-furnace, retort." See fig. 13

(10) מִזְרָק *mizrāq*.—Amos vi, 6. There were Tyrian *mizrāqôt* of gold in the Solomonic temple (1 Kings vii, 50) ; *mizrāqôt* of gold and silver were carried off to Babylon (2 Kings xxv, 15=Jer. lii, 19), but fifty were reappointed for the Second Temple (Neh. vii, 70). Bronze *mizrāqôt* were included in the altar equipment (Exod. xxvii, 3, xxxviii, 3, Num. iv, 14)—doubtless for the purpose of receiving the blood of the victim (*cf.* Zech. ix, 15) and throwing it against the sides of the altar (*cf.* Exod. xxix, 16, Lev. i, 5, &c.) ; and a silver *mizrāq* weighing seventy " holy " *šeqels* was employed for the presentation of a *minḥāh* of flour and oil mixed (Num. vii (14t.)).

The employment of *mizrāqîm*[1] by the Samarian banqueters is thus sumptuous, profane and greedy ; they use vessels of a sacred character for unworthy purposes and they select vessels of inordinate capacity. That they employ vessels of metal in place of earthen bowls is likely enough, but not certain.[2] Zech. xiv, 20 is not decisive, for metal *sîrôt* were used in the sanctuary, but it does imply that if the " chalices " (so J. M. P. Smith in *An American Translation*) were of earthenware, they took the form of *sîrôt* of an elaborate sort. Vulg *in phialis* and the unassigned translation cited by Justin Martyr : *Tryph.*, p. 179, ἐν φιάλαις imply a flattish vessel, and since for the ritual purposes a handled dish would minimize the risk of improper contact, identification may be made with the ring-

[1] The existence of two plurals does not appear to be significant, *cf.* Num. vii, 84, Zech. xiv, 20.

[2] The mention in the above passages of the metal of which the *mizrāq* is made no more implies that it was always of metal than the absence of such specification in Amos implies that the normal material was earthenware.

based four-handled bowls, frequently burnished, of Early Iron II. For examples, see AASOR xii, pl. 60, and fig. 6.

(11) מַחֲבַת *maḥᵃbat.*—Lev. ii, 5, vi, 14, vii, 9 (Ezek. iv, 3),[1] 1 Chron. xxiii, 29. The references are all late. The *maḥᵃbat* was a griddle on which a sort of pancake, made of oil and flour, was baked or fried. It may be of iron in every instance, as in Ezek. iv, 3, but the purpose would earlier be served by convex discs of pottery.

(12) מַרְחֶשֶׁת *marḥéšet.*—†Lev. ii, 7, vii, 9. This word occurs both times beside *maḥᵃbat*. The treatment by Kennedy in EB I 891 cannot be advanced upon; the *marḥéšet* remains an unidentified lidded cooking-pan of Early Iron II.

(13) מֶרְקָחָה *merqāḥāh.*—Job xli, 23.—Some sort of bowl in which ointment or perfume is boiled or compounded, or in which wine is mixed with spice (*cf.* Ct. viii, 2), and unidentifiable.

(14) מַשְׂרֵת *maśrēt.*—†2 Sam. xiii, 9. Emendation is unnecessary; the word is sufficiently attested in Jewish Aramaic in the form מַסְרֵת (*cf.* Jastrow: *Dictionary*, s.v. and the Targum here). Tamar fried (בשל) the dough-nuts or pancakes (לביבות) in oil or butter on the fire in an adjacent room, brought through the pan and turned them out (ותצק) in front of Amnon. A smallish vessel would suffice, and a handle would be serviceable, but we cannot be certain as to details of shape.

(15) מִשְׁאֶרֶת *miš'éret.*—†Exod. vii, 28, xii, 34, Deut. xxviii, 5, 17. The connection with שְׂאֹר "leaven" is doubtful, but the meaning "kneading-trough" is indubitable, and the word bears this meaning in later Hebrew. Originally these vessels were of wood (so Ibn Ezra on Exod. xii, 34), but there is no reason why they should not be of pottery, and broad, open bowls with ring-burnished interiors, capable of being held between the knees, would serve the purpose admirably. Such basins, in different sizes, appear in AASOR xii, pls. 61–63, &c., and fig. 7.

(16) נֵבֶל *nēbel.*—Isa. xxx, 14, xxii, 24, Lam. iv, 2, Jer.

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[1] A striking illustration of this metaphor is found in the use of the iron *meḥmāṣ* (محماص) or *sāj* (صاج) as a shield in the Jerusalem riots.

xlviii, 12.[1] Originally the *nēbel* was a skin bottle, and throughout the Biblical period wine was regularly stored in these, e.g. Isa. i, 24, Matt. ix, 17. It was from this container that the נֵבֶל יוֹצְרִים (Isa. xxx, 14) took its name, on account of the similarity either of shape or of capacity.[2] They were the " big pots "[3] of the household (*cf.* Isa. xxii, 24) and the breaking of one of these would be an impressive domestic disaster (*cf.* Isa. xxx, 14, Lam. iv, 2). These large storage-jars, for flour, meal, oil, water, &c., occur at all sites; *cf.* Watzinger: *Jericho*, pls. 28, C2, C3; 31 A4, PEFA II (Ain Shems), pl. xlix, AASOR xii, pl. 32, No. 4, 41, Nos. 12–16. See fig. 8.

(17) סִיר *sîr.*—Exod. xvi, 3, 2 Kings iv, 38, 39, 40, 41, 41, Jer. i, 13, Ezek. xi, 3, 7, 11 (xxiv, 3, 6), Mic. iii, 3, Ps. lviii, 10, lx, 10=cviii, 10, Job xli, 23, Eccles. vii, 6. This is the cooking-vessel *par excellence*, placed upon a fire of thorns (Ps. lviii, 10, Eccles. vii, 6) in a draught (Jer. i, 13), and used for cooking meat (Exod xvi, 3, Ezek. xi, 3) or seething (בשׁל Ezra xxiv, 3), a stew (נזיד 2 Kings iv, 38); by the sixth century it was frequently of bronze (Ezek. xxiv, 11). It was also used for personal ablution (Ps. lx, 10=cviii, 10). It was probably, therefore, the large (*cf.* 2 Kings iv, 38) two-handled, round-based open-mouthed cooking-pot of Early Iron II. See fig. 14.

(18) סַף *sap.* This word has been fully dealt with by the writer in JTS xxxvii (1936), p. 56 ff.

(19) סֵפֶל *sēpel.*—†Judges v, 25, vi, 38. G. F. Moore (ICC on Judges v, 25) thinks that this vessel was of wood, and

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[1] That an earthen vessel is here intended, is more than a possibility, as Gesenius s.v. states. The verb refers not to the deflating of a skin, but to the smashing of pottery, as in Judges vii, 19. Jeremiah himself uses the same metaphor in xxii, 28, and his symbolic act in xix belongs to the same realm of thought.

[2] Epiphanius: *De Mensuris* (Hultsch: *Metrologicorum Scriptorum Reliquiae* I, p. 263) speaks of νέβελ οἴνου, ὅπερ ἐστὶ μέτρον ξεστῶν ρν, i.e. about eighteen gallons, modern Palestinians reckon about three "tanakies" to the skinful, i.e. about twelve gallons; an average *nēbel* holds from five to twelve gallons. The νεβελ of Epiphanius must have been a *dolium* or πίθος.

[3] Galling's treatment (loc. cit. n-o) of the *nēbel* goes together with his interpretation of *kad*; *cf.* supra No. (6). His classification of *nēbel* with *pak* and their identification with a "*Kanne*" or "*Flasche*" are opposed by the literary evidence, with which Galling does not deal.

his suggestion may be confirmed by the following argument.—It is remarkable that this word, which is not infrequent in post-Biblical Hebrew, and whose congeners occur in the cognate tongues (*cf.* Moore, *loc. cit.*) should occur in the Old Testament in two passages of different authorship dealing with the same period. It is possible, of course, that the word is a deliberate archaism in vi, 38, in imitation of the poetic passage, but even so, our deduction is not invalidated. From the prose parallel to v, 25, viz. iv, 19, it appears that milk was stored in skins (contrast Job xxi, 24), so that the *sēpel* is a serving- or drinking-vessel and thus of small size. These considerations, the exigencies of camp life and the analogy of modern Beduin habits[1] make it more than likely that the *sēpel* was a wooden bowl.

(20) עֶצֶב '*éçeb.*—†Jer xxii, 28. This word does not recur anywhere in Hebrew, the kindred languages have no cognate word with this meaning and 'A Sym and LXX^{mss} (*apud* Field *ad loc.*) have quite different interpretations of the passage. But Jeremiah is fond of likening a man or people doomed to disaster to a pot (*cf.* xlviii, 12, and supra No. (16)); the etymology of the word and the parallelism of the verse favour such a meaning, and the LXX so interprets it. But what sort of pot the '*eçeb* is cannot, in the absence of more definite evidence, be determined, save that, in reference to Coniah, a " big pot " would suit the figure better.

(21) פַּךְ *pak.*—†1 Sam. x, 1, 2 Kings ix, 1, 13. In both passages the *pak* holds the oil with which the king is anointed by pouring. This and the fact that it was carried on a journey show that it was not large, had a narrow neck,[2] and possibly one or more handles. LXX renders by φάκος, which also answers to צַפַּחַת, q.v. The word is not infrequent in later Hebrew; thus when Jacob was left alone at Penuel (Gen. xxxii, 25) he had remained behind for some פכין קטנין (Ḥullin 91a), and according to Sabb 84b the finger cannot be dipped into small פכין. The Biblical references all belong to the transition period Early Iron I–II, and the description aptly

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[1] *Cf.* Burckhardt: *Travels in Arabia* (1829), II 106.

[2] This feature is also suggested by the onomatopoetic etymology of the word; *cf.* פכפך "drip, drop."

suits the imported Cypro-Phoenician juglet described by Albright in AASOR xxx, xii § 95 (pl. 51, No. 9). See fig. 9.

(22) פָּרוּר *pārûr.*—†Num. xi, 8, Judges vi, 19, 1 Sam. ii, 14. In Ben Sirach xiii, 2, this vessel appears as the typical earthen vessel (LXX χύτρα) as opposed to the metal סִיר (LXX λέβης).[1] It is listed as a cooking-pot, used for seething the manna, and for serving the gravy from a stewed kid, while the meat is served in a basket, but nearer identification is impossible.

(23) צַלַּחַת *çalláḥat.*—†2 Kings xxi, 13, Prov. xix, 24= xxvi, 15, may be taken along with צֵלָחוֹת *çēlāḥôt* †2 Chron. xxxv, 13 (in a list of cooking utensils in the plural), and

(24) צְלֹחִית *çelōḥît*—.†2 Kings ii, 20. All three words are from a root צלח, whose derivatives in Aramaic, Arabic, Ethiopic and later Hebrew all mean "pot." צֵלָחוֹת is rightly taken by Bauer-Leander as a plural of צַלַּחַת;[2] the reason for the peculiar pointing escapes us. The word was a puzzling one for the authors of our versions. The oldest reference is from a Judean prophet of seventh century B.C., who speaks of the *çalláḥat* as a vessel in common domestic use and capable of being set base up to drip. LXX renders the word ὁ ἀλάβαστρος (A τὸ ἀλάβαστρον), Targ צלוחית; Pesh evades the simile completely; Vulg has in mind waxed writing tablets—*et delebo Jerusalem, sicut deleri solent tabulae; et delens vertam, et ducam crebrius stylum super faciem eius.* The twice-quoted proverb about the lazy man who plunges his hand into his bowl and finds nothing to put into his mouth is equally misunderstood. LXX εἰς τὸν κόλπον and ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ[3] is perhaps due to his being misled by the word טמן,[4] which is chosen not because the צַלַּחַת was a deep vessel (*cf.* the expression in 2 Kings), but because, while the

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[1] So קדר in the proverb cited in Esther R. iii, 6.

[2] Galling (*loc. cit.*) seems not to connect the two words and fails to identify the *çalláḥat* as a cooking vessel.

[3] And the Syriac; 'A Sym Targ Vulg and some of the mediaeval Jewish commentators understood צלחת as meaning "armpit."

[4] The emendation טבל (*cf.* Mark xiv, 20) is too obvious to be probable

industrious man had a heaped-up plate of food, the sluggard had to go right into his porringer and even when he scraped it inside, he found little or nothing. Yet the צְלַחַת was not a flat plate, as appears from the late account of Josiah's passover (2 Chron. xxxv, 13), where צְלָחוֹת are used with *sîrôt* and *dûdîm* for the stewing (בשל) of the common meal.[1] Thus the indications, derived entirely from the Hebrew, are for a cooking-pot of Early Iron I–II, having a wide top to permit of its being inverted, and suitable for use as a serving-vessel, possibly therefore with handles and with a flattish base.

Though from the same root, צְלֹחִית clearly denotes a very different veesel, for not only would a shallow cooking-pot, even when new, be an odd receptacle for a magical quantity of salt (2 Kings ii, 21), but in Mishnaic Hebrew the word appears for a perfume bottle (Sab. vi, 3, viii, 2), a flagon—of gold and containing 3 *logs*, i.e. about one and a half pints (Sukkah iv, 9)—for the water-libation at Tabernacles, a container for the water-soaked ashes of the red heifer (Parah ix, 1, &c.). In Aramaic it represents the *çinçénet* in which the manna was gathered (Exod. xvi, 33, Targ Onq), and is used to render צפחת in 1 Kings xvii, 6, xix, 12, and frequently elsewhere. The LXX cannot be far wrong in translating *λάβετέ μοι ὑδρίσκην καινήν*; Vulg is not very helpful with *vas novum*, nor Targ with צלחית. If the post-Biblical evidence be not disregarded, the vessel in question is some sort of flask or juglet from among the many types portrayed in CPP §§ 69–92.

(25) צָמִיד *çāmîd.*—†Num. xix, 15.—Doubtless a lid to fit the complementary vessel. Nearer identification is not possible. The infrequency of obvious lids from the yields of excavation warrants the conjecture that ordinarily another bowl or plate was placed over the vessel to be covered.

(26) צִנְצֶנֶת *çinçénet.*—Exod. xvi, 33 (P). The epithet "golden" added by LXX (*cf.* Heb. ix, 4) is a pious amplification. Ibn Ezra is nearer the mark in calling it a vessel of pottery or bronze. The type may well be an unusual one; but a jar-shape would be the most suitable for keeping manna in, and a

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[1] LXX connects the word with צלח "prosper" and renders *καὶ εὐοδώθη*; Vulg gives *et (in) ollis*.

capacity of an ‘*omer* (verse 36), i.e. just over three and a half litres, is reasonable. The word occurs in later Hebrew in other contexts than that of the manna, and it is a tempting, though hazardous, conjecture, that this is P's word for what was formerly called a *baqbuq*, or for the successor of the *baqbuq*.

(27) צַפַּחַת *çappáḥat.*—†1 Sam. xxvi, 11, 12, 16, 1 Kings xvii, 12, 14, 16, xix, 6. The references are all to the earlier monarchic period. The root means " be broad, wide " (*cf.* Ar. صَفَحَ II " make wide," صَفِيحَة " anything broad "), and this sense is never quite lost sight of. In 1 Sam. xxvi it contains a warrior's rations of water ; LXX renders φακός and Vulg *scyphus* ; likewise in 1 Kings xix, 6 (LXX καψάκης,[1] Vulg *vas*) it holds the water miraculously provided for Elijah in his journey in the Negeb. The remaining passage belongs to the same northern corpus of prophetic narratives ; but the reference is a less characteristic one. The widow of Çarephath has מְעַט שֶׁמֶן in a *çappáḥat*, but the situation described occurs in a time of famine, and the widow was a poor woman who may have had to put her few vessels to unwonted uses and may never have had a large store of oil. Date, size and function, as given by the references, taken together with the etymology of the word and the sense attached to it by the versions, all point unquestionably to the two-handled lentoid " pilgrim- " flask which first appears in Palestinian deposits of the latest Bronze period and continues in increasing popularity throughout Early Iron I, i.e., as the Old Testament attests, down to the disruption and slightly later. *Cf.* AASOR xii, § 57, and accompanying illustrations. See fig. 10.

(28) קֻבַּעַת *qubbá‘at.*—†Isa. li, 17, 22. LXX renders as κόνδυ, Vulg *calicem*. A similar word appears in Ass. *kabûtu* and Ph. קבעם.[2] The context shows that the *qubbá‘at* holds the individual's portion of drink, and the word is a poetical synonym for *kôs* (supra, No. (7)), which word, originally a gloss, has crept into MT after קבעת in both verses.

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[1] Epiphanius (*apud* Hultsch: *op. cit.*, p. 263) lists the καμψακης as a measure of water amounting to twelve *xestae*, and then adds the curious remark—ὁ δὲ ἐν τῷ Ἠλίᾳ ἑτοιμασθεὶς καμψάκης τεσσάρων ἐστὶ ξεστῶν.

[2] Larnax Lapethou 3, line 4, *Le Muséon* li (1938), pp. 286, 292.

(29) קַלַּ֫חַת *qalláḥat.*—† 1 Sam. ii, 14, Mic. iii, 3. Neither the Biblical references, consisting as they do of an occurrence in the Shiloh list and another in poetic parallelism to סִיר, nor the extra-Biblical history of the word (*vid.* Erman in ZDMG xlvi, 121, Abel in RB xxxiii, 569, and Du Mesnil du Buisson: *Les Noms et Signes Egyptiens Désignant des Vases ou Objets Similaires* (1935), 13–15) suffice to fix this cooking-vessel more nearly. It is one or other of the types illustrated in figs. 11, 12, 14, 15.

(30) קֶסֶת *qéset.*—†Ezek. ix, 2, 3, 11. LXX ζώνη σαπφείρου succeeds in making nonsense of the phrase by guessing at קסת from the context and pointing הספר wrongly. 'A has μελανοδοχεῖον γραμματέως, Sym πινακίδιον γραφέως, Vulg *atramentarium scriptoris*. Jerome was told by a Jew that it meant καλαμάριον. No writing-utensils have been certainly identified by archaeologists in Palestine, and whether the *qéset*, if indeed it is an ink-bottle, was of pottery and not rather of horn, cannot now be determined.

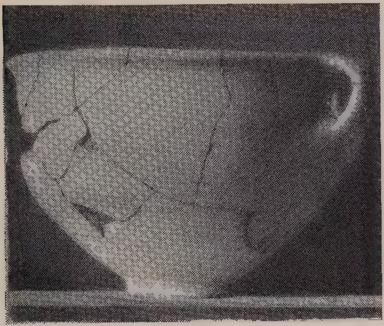

FIG. 1

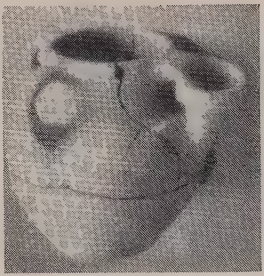

FIG. 2(*a*)

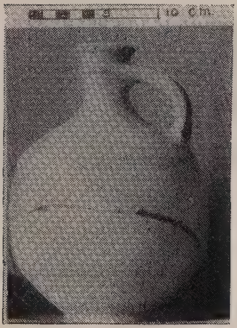

FIG. 3

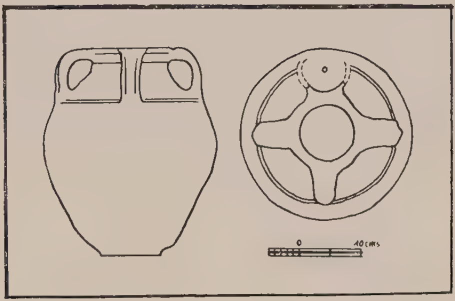

FIG. 2(*b*)

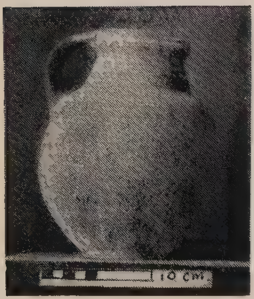

FIG. 4(*a*)

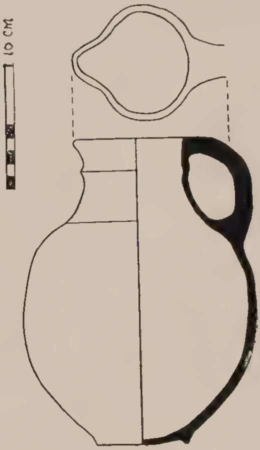

FIG. 4 (*b*)

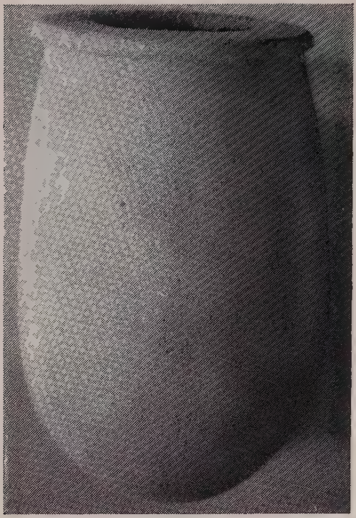

FIG. 5

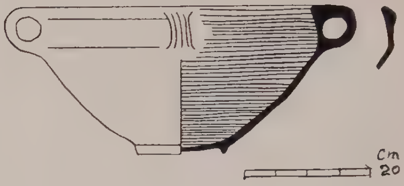

FIG. 6.

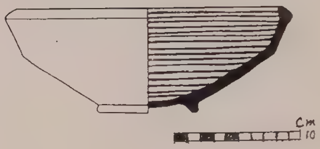

FIG. 7

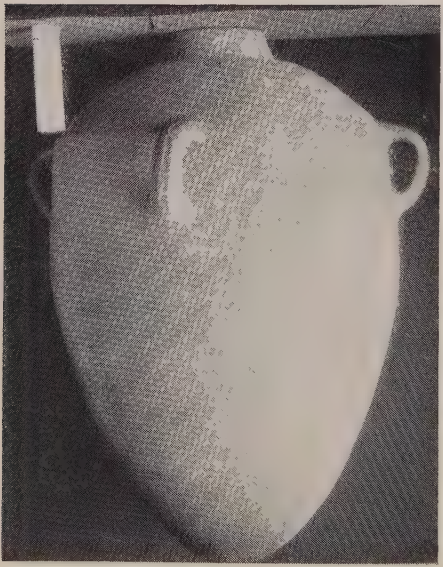

FIG. 8

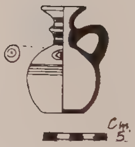

FIG 9

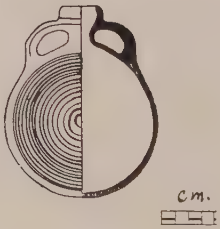

FIG. 10

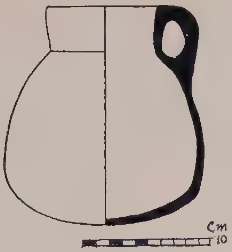

FIG. 11

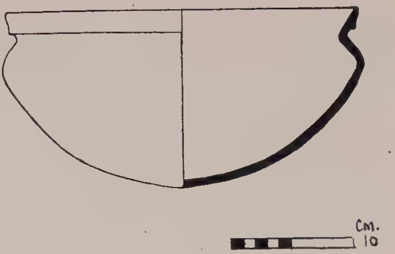

FIG. 12

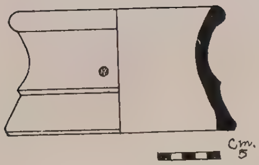

FIG. 13

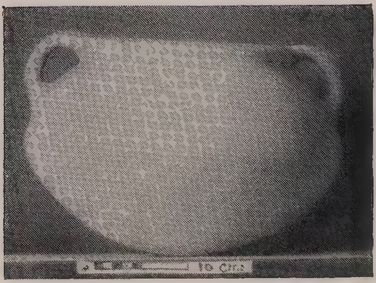

FIG. 14

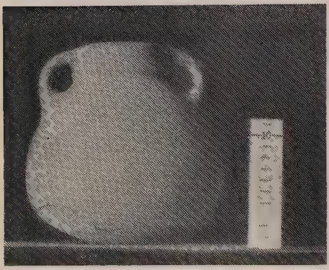

FIG. 15 (*a*)

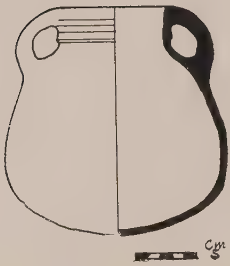

FIG. 15 (*b*)

CERAMIC COOKING UTENSILS

THE LACHISH OSTRACA

II. Palaeographic and Other Notes

By S. Birnbaum

Ostracon 1

Line 1: Mem and Resh as well as Hē and Waw run into each other. This cannot properly be called a ligature because the characters remain independent of each other, and their shape is not affected. This is one of the characteristics of cursive writing. One often comes across letters touching each other, e.g., Aleph and Lamedh (ii, 1), Aleph, Daleth, Nūn (ii, 1), Pe and Resh (iii, 19), Lamed, H̱eth, Hē (iii, 21), &c.

Line 4: The thin stroke of the Taw is, according to Torczyner, " not on the level," i.e., it is not one single stroke but written with two lifts of the pen. This seems very improbable. It appears to be simply a wavy line.

Lines 4 *and* 5: The Resh differs from that in l. 1, the downstroke being much smaller and turning towards the left in the end. Nevertheless, the signs can hardly be read as Daleths, which have pointed tops, the left stroke being prolonged upwards after it is met by the right stroke. This reading (which is also Torczyner's) is textually corroborated by the sign following the letter in question, in line 4 which seems to be rather Mem than Nūn so that ירמיהו appears preferable to ידניהו, a name known from the Elephantine papyri, but there possibly identical with יאזניה. A textual corroboration is to be found in line 5 where the reading Daleth would result in a name—נדיהו—which is not known from other sources and which would be very difficult to explain etymologically.

The following transliteration, like the subsequent ones, gives only such signs as can actually be seen and letters which can be palaeographically inferred from existing traces but nothing which has its source in the contents, even where it is very probable. One line over a letter denotes probability, and two lines signify possibility, both in varying degrees. Effaced or illegible letters are indicated by dashes, corresponding to the probable number of such letters.

TRANSLITERATION OF OSTRACON I

1 גמריהו . בנהצליהו
2 יאזנ̿יהו . בנטבשלמ .
3 חג̅ב̅ . בנ . יאז̅א̅ניהו
4 מבטחי̅הובנר̅מ̿יהו
5 מתניהו . בנ : נריהו

OSTRACON II

Line 5: The reading יזכר, as Torczyner points out, is impossible. The second sign cannot be Zayin as is clear on comparison with the Zayin in line 4. The sign in question is much too slanting; instead of a tail it has a big shaft; instead of the long, more or less straight top bar it has a thick angle; the top of the letter does not belong to this angle, i.e., to the left part, but is the top of the shaft, apparently severed from it by a scratch on the surface, stretching upwards, outside the sign.

Line 6: The number of letters lost by having been broken off at the beginning of the line, is two, as is also assumed by Torczyner. It seems possible to decide with some amount of probability whether the reading Daleth Nūn or Mem Resh is to be preferred, i.e., whether the mutilated word was אדני or אמרי. If we draw a line connecting the beginning of lines 1 to 4 and prolong it downwards to lines 5 and 6 we can be pretty sure that we shall find the starting points of lines 5 and 6. The space available, as an experiment of mine showed, is too small for Mem and Resh which are nearly double as wide as Daleth and Nūn, and still more so for דבר. Thus it seems very probably that we must read אדני, and that therefore the meaning of the letter is: "I received your letter. I am sorry I do not know what you asked." This would unfortunately dispose of the interpretation proposed by Torczyner: "I never have known the thing I am accused of telling"—

which protestation of innocence would connect it with Ostracon iii.

The establishment, however, of the reading אדני has robbed us of this connection.

In consequence of this reading בכר cannot be equated with בקר and its etymology is yet to be solved.

If ידעתה, as is probable from the context, is in the first person, its scriptio defectiva seems to connect it with spellings like שמרמ, שמעת, שלמ, נבא, טבמ, טב, הבא, לבא, לאמר, אתת as opposed to אדני, כי, כתבתי, לי, ויעלהו, קראתי. That might conceivably point to a rule that plene spelling is reserved for the end of a word.

TRANSLITERATION OF OSTRACON II.

1 אלאדני . יאושישמ̅ע̅ .

2 יהוהאתאדנ̅יש -- תשל

3 מ . עת̅ . כימעתכימ̅מיעבד̿

4 ככלבכי . זכראדניא̅ת̅ .

5 בדה . יבכר .̅ יהוה אתא

6 י . דבר . אשרלא . ידעתה

OSTRACON III

Line 2: If the conjecture אדני is correct, then the space between it and ישמע allows room for five normal letters so that the conjectured name—יאוש—would not fill it.

Hence this ostracon, in so far as it is legible, is not connected with the preceding one, through the name of its addressee.

Line 4: This line is not much bigger than line 1 and would allow room for only two or three more letters. Hence, from the start, we might be justified in regarding Torczyner's four letters with suspicion. Further, a comparison of the facsimile with the hand copy shows that the Samekh of the original stands somewhat more to the right. That would mean that the conjecture יעתשלחעבדכ is too long, and in fact, the letters of the hand copy are too small and crowded. שלחתי, might however, be possible if we accept Torczyner's reconstruction of the contents of this line.

The Lamedh of the supposed אל would have stood under the Mem of שמעת in line 3, and would have started very near it, in order to attain at least the shortened and cramped form as proposed in the hand copy. But why is there then no trace of its top next to the distinct tail of Mem ?

There is no word divider at the end of the line, also the hand copy shows nothing. Torczyner seems unconsciously to have split up the H̱eth into Hē + dot.

The line is too effaced to allow more than the possibility of some connection between ספר and a פְּקֵחַ. But הפקח might be some other word or form.

Line 5 : The conjecture ובתכה before Zayin is too long. The hand copy made it feasible only through unusual overcrowding. The traces after Zayin do not seem to point to Mem, it would also be a rather small character in comparison with the other signs in the line. Torczyner's reconstruction of this line, ingenious though it is, is not backed by graphic remains.

Line 6 : לעבדכ is possible as a conjecture, of course, but apart from the Lamedh no letter is certain. The next trace is possibly Ayin ; if the next remainder represents Beth, it shows only the upper part of the shaft but neither the lower top nor the loop which are shown in the hand copy correspond with such traces as are still visible.

Line 7 : Of the suggested דוה I can see nothing.[1]

Line 9 : The trace at the beginning of the line is very doubtful. The downstroke of Qoph would have stretched on to the edge of the sherd. Is it possible that a very fine splinter of the sherd broke off, forming the present corners at the beginnings of lines 4 and 12 ? That might also account for the following lines starting at the very edge.

Line 10 : There is no available space for Yodh and Shin. There might have been only the latter, and the spelling would be in consonance with the spelling system of our Letters.

Line 12 : The trace before the final את of this line seems too near the Aleph for a Resh. This reading is also rendered doubtful by the spelling of the proposed רָא̣ת̣ which is not in agreement with the system of our Letters, which appears to prescribe scriptio plena at the end of words (cp. Ostracon ii, end of our note).

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[1] I have not seen the original of this ostracon, nor of Nos. IV and VI.

The signs after את, at the end of the line, are very doubtful. The first one after Taw, does not resemble any of the Mems of this sherd, with their heavy tops, the angle between the top and the tail also differs from their angle, and finally, it has not like them two top strokes. The letter in question looks like the Nūn in line 15 and this word would accordingly be אתן. The next letter could hardly be Nūn, neither in its more elaborate form as in line 15, nor in the more cursive one as in line 20. It seems to be most like a Beth, except for the difference in slant. The next sign which is read as Hē by Torczyner, lacks the long top stroke sticking out on the right, characteristic of this sign, the cross strokes are longer than those of Hē—they are of equal length, while those of Hē gradually decrease. In comparing it with Ḥeth, Hē and Hē+Waw in our sherd we can hardly doubt that the letter in question is a Ḥeth.

Line 13 : The space available at the beginning of the line would seem to imply the presence of a small letter. It might have been Yodh and we could then read חיל, a word which would not sound out of place in the neighbourhood of שר הצבא in the next line.

These words together, אתן בחיל, do not look impossible. The three letters before them might have been the object of the sentence, supplemented by את ה, and the space after them might have contained an adverbial clause. This sentence would be connected with the following and not with the preceding passage.

Line 14 : Do the Hē and Ẕadhe run into each other, or is there a black mark between them ?

Line 15 : It is doubtful whether the empty space at the beginning of the line ever contained a letter. The neighbouring signs are so distinct that it does not seem likely that just here a letter should have been effaced. The second letter looks like Pe, cp. line 4. It is angular and has not a long shallow bow like Beth ; the loop of Beth is not there ; the angle of the little top stroke is wider than is characteristic for the exceptionally sharp loops of this scribe's Beth. The next sign is very uncertain. To judge by the right top angle as well as by the rest of the traces, this might be Yodh (cp. this letter in line 9), but certainly not Resh. The space following, up to the supposed אל, could take two letters but hardly Torczyner's conjecture which consists of five letters, apart from two possible word dividers. The letters of the hand copy are too small and crowded. Thus if the line started with a name, it could not have been יכבריהו.

The traces which are supposed to be the tails of Beth and Nun are so faint that we cannot rely on them; the loop of the Beth is not preserved and it is doubtful whether the mark under the Daleth of line 14 represents the top of Beth. The reading בן is therefore very doubtful. The next trace does not really look like the cross stroke of Aleph, and it is difficult to understand why there should not be a trace of the downstroke. The Alephs of this sherd are wider, too. So this trace is quite uncertain. It is equally uncertain as to whether the mark after it is the trace of a Lamedh. It does not look like the neighbouring ink marks; in structure and slant it looks unlike the Lamedhs of this sherd; there seems to be no room for a letter between the supposed Aleph and the following Nūn, the Nūn would have been written into the bottom part of the Lamed: Why this crowding? The letters following are normally spaced; why should this bottom part only be effaced in a non-effaced neighbourhood?; the Lamedh would collide with the Resh of שר. Consequently the reading אלנתן is very doubtful. If we must abandon it, the only theophorous name with El would be removed from the Lachish documents. Our line most probably does not contain the name Yikhbaryahu ben Elnathan. But does it give a name at all? The letters כפי cannot be explained as the beginning of a name, and it might be remarked—although this is not conclusive—that it seems unnecessary to give in a letter to a high officer, the title *and* name of his commander-in-chief—for such would be the position of the general in question, as implied by the Hē of הצבא, in conformity with Biblical usage. If we have no name here, then what part of the sentence which starts with the predicate ירד and the subject שר הצבא must we expect here? Probably an adverbial clause. Could it be כפי המלך "according to the command of the king"? The word המלכ of the reverse, with dividing dots, would just fill up the available space. Or should this be the end of the sentence, leaving ירד without an object? In that case נתן would be a verb, meaning "to permit," cp. ולא יתן המשחית לבא (Ex. xii, 23), לא יתנו מעלליהם לשוב (Hos. v, 4), &c., but where would be its object? Is there a possibility of taking נתן as a name, belonging to the adverbial clause? Whatever the way in which these difficulties will be solved, the non-existence of Yikhbaryahu ben Elnathan seems practically certain. This would rob Torczyner's equation of the נבא with Uriah, of an important argument in its support.

Line 16: The last sign of the obverse cannot be Lamedh, there is no room for it and no trace of it. We have, like Torczyner, to read a Taw the downstroke of which is visible.

The reverse of this ostracon, lines 17 to 21, is the only example of a wholly preserved text. Line 19, however, proved to be a stumbling block.

Line 19: Torczyner reads the second word as נדביהו but he notes " the difference in the writing of the נ as seen on the obverse, from the reverse." Yet one need not turn to the obverse with its indistinct signs. The reverse itself contains five clear Nūns: they are angular, the upper stroke at an angle of nearly 90 degrees with the tail; the tail is long and under the line. But the sign in question is a bow and does not go under the line. The next sign cannot be a Daleth either. Daleth is a distinct triangle, rather wide, has a sharp angle on the left hand and the right stroke is straight. Our sign shows nothing of these characteristics. In fact, both signs do not look like any others on these ostraca. The little stroke between them gives the clue to the puzzle: We have here not two signs but one only: A bow right, a bow left, a cross in the middle—it is a Teth. All the examples of Teth in the Lachish documents have this form, nowhere do we find a real circle. The name is consequently טביהו " Tobias."

Torczyner's reading of the next word, too, is erroneous. The first sign is even less likely to be Nūn than in the preceding word—it is hardly curved at all but nearly a straight line. In height and slant it corresponds to Ayin, as a comparison with examples of this letter will show. They are all rather narrow and this is narrower still. The subsequent sign has neither the fairly straight shaft of Kaph nor its great length and is without its left top stroke. Should just this little stroke have been forgotten by the scribe or effaced on this perfectly preserved ostracon? There is no reason for not taking it at its face value, i.e., as a Beth. It has the curve characteristic of Beth and belongs to the smaller variety of the letter. The right reading is therefore עבד, and Torczyner's first opinion was justified. This is regrettable as thereby we are not only robbed of a word of rare occurrence for our dictionary, but also of an interesting personal relationship between our documents and a king of Judah. Through the non-existence in our ostraca of "Nedabiah, the 'nepos' of the king," we also lose textual evidence as to their date, which would have been provided through 1 Chron. iii, 18.

Transliteration of Ostracon III

Obverse

1 – – – כ . הושעיהו . של – . ל
2 ה – – ל – – ני – – – – – – – – ישמע .
3 יהוה – – – דני שמעת . שלמ
4 ו – – – – – – – – – ס – ר – – – הפקח
5 – – – – – – – – ז – עבדכ . לספר . אשר
6 שלחאד – – לעב – כאמש . כי . לב
7 – בד – – – – – מאז . שלחכ . אל . עבד
8 כ . וכיאמר . אדנ – . לא . ידעתה .
9 – ר – ספ – – חיהוה . אמ . נסה . א
10 ש . לקראליספרלנצח . וגמ
11 כלספראשריבא . אלי אמ .
12 קראתי . אתה – – – אתנבח
13 – ל . מא – – – – לעבדכ . הגד .
14 לאמר . ירדשרהצבא
15 כפי – – – א – נתנ . לבא .
מ
16 ··צרימה . ותא

Reverse

17 הודויהובנאחיהוו

18 אנשושלחלקחת . מזה .

19 וספרטביהועבד . המלכ . הבא

20 אלשלמ . בנידע . מאת . הנבא . לאמ

21 ר . השמר . שלחה . עבכ . אל . אד̅ני .

OSTRACON IV

Line 4: There is no room for the proposed אדני אלי· The אדני of line 2 transferred to this line goes up to the Lamedh, so the pronoun would not be אלי but לי; the אדני of line 12, transferred to this line, even goes up to the Yodh. There are three possibilities: (a) אדני לי, (b) a personal name of three letters followed by אלי, (c) a personal name of four letters followed by לי. (a) seems the most likely.

Line 5: Would it follow from the suggestion at the end of our notes on Ostracon ii, that the constructs בית, אין are not plene spellings but that the Yodh indicates a diphthongic pronunciation (*bayt*, *'ayn*)?

Line 7: The sign after עבדכ might be Aleph but the next is a distinct Yodh, not Daleth with the entirely different angle of its downstroke. The subsequent trace is illegible.

Line 8: The first three signs are illegible but the following Lamedh with the remains of Ḥeth make a Shin before them probable. The sign after ש̅מה might be Waw or Aleph, the next perhaps Taw.

TRANSLITERATION OF OSTRACON IV

Obverse

1 ישמע . יה------נ̿י̿עתכ̅ימ

2 שמעתטב . ועתככלאשרש̅לחאדנ̅י

3 כ̅נ . עשהעבד̅ככתבתיעלה̿דלתככל

4 אש̅רשלח̿----ל̅י . וכישלח-

5 דני . על . דברב̅י̅ת̅רפ̅ד . אינ . ש̅מא

6 דמוסמכיהולקחה . שמעיהו–
7 יעלהוהעירהועבדכאי–
8 – – –לחשמהותה–
א

Reverse

9 כיאמ . בתסבתהבקר
10 וידעכיאל . משאתלכש . נ–
11 נו שמרמככל . האתת . אשר נתנ
12 ארני . כילא . נראהאתעז
13 קה

Ostracon V

Lines 1 to 5 are beyond hope. The few letters which are still legible or imaginable, convey only the ideas of " I " and " you." Although not visible on the sherd, the photo might contain, as second and third signs, the letters שמ.

Line 5: Harding's readings ה in the middle of the line, and זו at the end, although still very uncertain, seem to be more probable than Torczyner's ס and יהו. The latter's conjecture ס]פרי– – –[ויהו with סמכ as the probable completion, is too long. We have drawn these words from the letters of this ostracon and although we crowded them together there was no room left for את. If this word were sacrificed, the traces of the first sign could hardly be made to tally with the form the clear Samekh has in the next line, and the traces in the middle of the line would hardly fit in with Yodh and its immediate surroundings.

Line 7: The word at the end of the line is illegible. Its first letter is Yodh. The next one might conceivably be Hē, Daleth seems to be ruled out, on comparison with that letter in the same and the preceding lines, and Resh has a heavier downstroke in lines 6 and 10. Could the subsequent traces represent a Waw? If there should have been a Hē after that it would have been unusually small. Similarly the last trace, if of a Yodh, would be undersized.

Line 8 : It is not impossible that the first sign is Ḥeth. The Hēs of this hand have a rather heavy top stroke, which shows a slight tendency to being curved downwards and sticks out boldly on top, while the sign in question does not show these characteristics. The cross strokes seem to be nearer each other, and the right downstroke appears to be smaller than in Hē. There seem to be two little strokes on the right hand top which would fit in neither with Hē nor with Ḥeth ; perhaps they are not ink marks. The stroke on the left side has no real continuation over the crack, the trace on top is too far left. Could this trace represent a word divider ? The little top stroke of the next trace appears to be at too wide an angle for Hē or Daleth, but perhaps these are not ruled out.

Line 9 : The second sign seems to be Yodh, cp. the slant of the Yodh in line 7 and near the end of this line. The top part of the third sign seems to show the remains of the small middle stroke of Mem. The subsequent character, a Hē, stands too far off—if we compare those parts of the ostracon where the writing is preserved—to be the immediate neighbour, but too near in view of the amount of intermediate space available to contain anything except a word divider or the bottom of a Lamedh. There is, however, no trace of this long letter. Thus we arrive at the reading הימ, i.e., הַיוֹם. The last letter of the line, though probably Aleph, is not beyond doubt. It looks as if the cross strokes were diverging, while in line 7 they are practically parallel.

Line 10 : The traces of the first sign might point to Teth, and the hand copy gives something similar ; the Resh of the Reconstruction is out of the question—the traces do not fit in with the form the letter has in the next word, and there is not enough space between the alleged dot and the edge of the sherd. The adjoining mark visible on the facsimile is only a scratch.

Of the last four signs of the line only two can be accepted as certain, the Lamedhs. On the photo there is something dark between the first Lamedh and the next sign. If this is ink it is difficult to see how this letter could be Mem. But even if the dark spot does not belong to the letter, the sign has not the appearance of a Mem. Nūn does not seem to be any the likelier. Another possibility would be Kaph if the difference in slant could be ascribed to the cramping in of letters at the edge of the ostracon. The last letter is illegible.

Apart from the greeting and the mention of correspondence, nothing is intelligible in this ostracon. What really does remain of lines 7 to 10 does not allow of a theory that this is a letter of exculpation written by a man who had cursed the king.

TRANSLITERATION OF OSTRACON V

1 י – – – – – – – – – – – – – –

3 – – – – – – – – מי – עבד –

4 כלב – – – – – – – – – – – עב

5 – – א – ה – – – – – – – – – – וז

6 – – הש – . עבדכ . הספר

7 מ – אלאדני . י – – – – י

8 ח . ה – – – – – – – – – – –
ד

9 הימ . ה – לע – – – יא

10 ט – י – הזרעל – ל –

OSTRACON VI

Line 3: Experiment shows that at the end of the line there is no room for the proposed letters אתספ.

Line 4: Is the shaft of the third sign as seen on the facsimile—supposed to be Mem—really produced by ink? It does not tally with the forms of Mem in lines 2 and 6. It is doubtful whether at the end of the line there is sufficient room for the conjecture שרמלאמ, the hand being rather wide and the letters not crowded together.

Line 5: The second Hē in the word read by Torczyner as והנה, does not seem to have the form presented in the hand copy. The facsimile shows the top stroke of normal length going down to the base line; the impression of a "vertically curved stroke" at the left seems—judging by the facsimile—to be caused by a darker part of the sherd surface, combined with the effect of the nearness of the parallel strokes.

Line 6: The third sign of the word read by Torczyner as לרפת is much bigger than the distinct Pe in line 4 and the legible Pe in line 14. Pe is a small or middle sized letter in the ostraca. It is therefore doubtful whether that big sign here is really Pe. It appears to be Mem. לרמת "to deceive, to betray, to leave in the lurch?" The next three signs are very uncertain, but the reading proposed in the edition, ידי, may be possible. The next one, however, can hardly be a Mem if we compare it with that letter in the same line and in line 2. The sharp angle of the top, on the left, would rather remind us of the Beth in the same line and in lines 3 and 5. At the end of the line there seems to be more room than would be necessary for the conjectured להש.

Line 7: The seventh sign is very doubtful, the facsimile is suggestive of Beth. This would not favour Torczyner's conjecture הארץ והעיר, nor does the second part of the phrase tally with the traces: the supposed Yodh is not certain, and the next sign is Daleth, unmistakable by its sharp top angle, as against the blunt top region of Resh.

The readings לרפת, ידים, הארץ יהעיר in lines 6 and 7 being improbable, there is nothing to remind us of a prophet nor to make us infer that line 5 ends with the word נבא.

Line 11: An Ayin seems to be visible in the middle of the line.

Line 12: There appears to be a sign between חי and the next word.

Line 13: The third sign looks like Kaph but the hand copy gives only a shaft which would imply that the mark on the photo is not caused by a trace of ink.

Line 14: The sign under the Aleph of קרא in line 13 seem too high up to be Hē. It probably is Samekh.

TRANSLITERATION OF OSTRACON VI

1 אלאדני יאוש – ר – יהוהא

2 – אדניאתה – תהזה – שלמ– – –

3 – בדבכלבכישלחאדנ– – – – – –

4 – ה – לכ – – – ספריה – – – – – –

5 – קראנא – הנהדבריה– – –

6 לאטב – לרמתידיב– – – – –
ג

7 קטיד– הב– – – – – –יד – – –
א

8 – – – – – – – – – – – – – –הלא– –

9 תבא– – – – – – – – – – –תעשו

10 כזאת– – – – – – –שלכ– –הל
מ

11 אלפ– – – – – –ק–רהי–
ב

12 – – – – – – –חייהוהאלה

13 יכ – – – –א–קרא–מ

14 –כ– – –ספר– – –ה– –

15 ל– – – – – – – – – – – –

Ostracon vii

Of this nearly effaced sherd only a few letters of lines 4 and 5 are partly legible. The other readings given in the edition seem to be unacceptable.

Line 6 : The group בשלמ might as easily be בְּשָׁלוֹם as [טו]בְשְׁלֵם and so it cannot serve as evidence to connect this sherd with Ostracon xviii.

Transliteration of Ostracon vii

5 –הו– – – – – – – –

6 בשלמ– – – – – – – – –

Ostracon viii

Line 3 : The first legible sign might be a Nūn. The second and third traces are puzzling. The second might be an Ayin although it probably is not. But it is hard to imagine what the third trace represents. Could the two traces perhaps belong together, forming the upper part of a Qoph, the lower part of which is effaced? Or is it a Ṭeth that we have here? Beth, however, is impossible. Thus we cannot read נבא, quite apart from the fact that between the alleged Beth and Aleph there would be that doubtful sign as well as an empty space (נב--א) which, of course, cannot be נבא, the spelling of our ostraca. This sherd does not, therefore, effect a connection with Ostracon iii.

Reverse, *line* 1: The trace of the third sign is very faint, but it certainly cannot represent Taw. Most of what appears to be the base of the sign is just a shadow due to the surface.

TRANSLITERATION OF OSTRACON VIII

Obverse

1 ישמ - - - -
2 - - טב - - - - - - - - ה -
3 ה - - נק - - - - - - מ -
4 ב · בד - - - - - - - - הו
5 אתבד - - - -

Reverse

1 אכזב
2 אדני

OSTRACON IX

Line 1: It looks as if the Yodh had a little hook at the bottom, the same characteristic as in i, viii and xvii, 2.

Line 2: It seems unlikely that after שלמ five letters —מיעבד—could have been crowded in, especially in this bold hand. The big mark under the line after שלמ cannot be the tail of Mem—compare the preceding character; in fact, there is a scratch on the sherd here, the shadow of which shows on the facsimile.

Line 3: Also the six letters ככלבבי would probably not fit in the space available. Ḫeth after the Lamedh is a possible reading. Torczyner seems to have counted its left downstroke doubly: first as that and then as the downstroke of a Taw. The subsequent trace is given as Mem in the hand copy, but a glance at the Mem of שלמ above it in line 2 will show that this is not likely. Could it be a Kaph ?

Line 7: The third sign cannot be the Ayin, given by Torczyner in his transliteration, nor the upper part of a Qoph which he suggests as graphically possible. The hand copy shows a complete Qoph but the shaft is not visible in the photograph and on the ostracon. Nor would we be inclined to take only the right hand part as a narrow Ayin, like the fourth sign of line 1. Even then, the next trace, touching it, is not the beginning of a Nūn, which would make the suggested ידענך possible. Might the whole perhaps be a partly effaced Shin ? Between it and the fairly legible יהו there might be room for two signs. But the traces visible give no hint as to what they might have been and do not favour a name like שמעיהו, for example.

Line 8: Of this line only the beginning—Shin, Resh—is certain. Of the next sign only the trace on the line is left. What looks like the trace of a tail is something in the material of the sherd. The last two signs of the line do not look like Hē and Mem, of which we have fairly distinct examples in line 1.

The incorrectness of the readings ידע, here and in v, 7, makes it impossible to parallel these two sherds.

TRANSLITERATION OF OSTRACON IX

Obverse

1 ישמעיהוה א--
2 -----שלמ---
3 --א̿מ̿-ל ח̿כ̿----
4 ------ה---
5 ---ב̿-כ̿ד̿
6 -ר̿-

Reverse

7 ידש̿--י̿הוא
8 שר-----
9 ח̿-

OSTRACON XI

Of this sherd nothing is certain except the Samekh of line 5.

TRANSLITERATION OF OSTRACON XI

3 -ל-
4 -מכיה
5 ס-כיהו

OSTRACON XII

It seems that nothing except the notions " you " and " I " can be gathered from this sherd.

OSTRACON XIII

Line 1 : The second letter might rather be Nūn than Mem as also the hand copy seems to convey. This is probably followed by an effaced sign, before the Lamedh. The reading of the third sign after the Lamedh as Taw is not probable. The subsequent trace is beyond hope and even the Lamedh which appears to follow is by no means certain.

Line 2 : Of the first half only a Samekh seems probable. The continuation מכיהו is highly conjectural.

This deprives us of a possible connection with Ostracon iv.

Line 3 : The first visible sign does not at all resemble the third which is probably Aleph. It differs in slant, the supposed beginning of the cross strokes is low down, nothing of cross strokes is to be seen right of the downstroke. The trace read Pe by Torczyner differs considerably from the probable sign in line 2, it might therefore rather represent Beth.

TRANSLITERATION OF OSTRACON XIII

1 קמ - לעש - - ל - כה ·
נ
2 -ס-------חפרה--
3 - ת · א - בת

OSTRACON XVI

Line 1 : The last sign is too big to be a Taw, even if we leave out of account that part of the sign which is broken off. It might be the rest of an Aleph (or Samekh ?).

Line 2: The first sign might be an indistinct Daleth.

Line 3: At the end of the line there appears to be the trace of half a Shin, on the photo, but I did not see it on the sherd.

Line 4: The first letter is possibly Beth.

Line 5: The first two signs are illegible. Hē + Waw would hardly fit in with the traces. They are rather low and are separated—also in the hand copy—while He + Waw wherever they occur in these ostraca, run into each other. It is therefore improbable that Torczyner's reading הו is correct.

Hence, the conjecture built upon these traces, supplementing them to אוריהו, unfortunately falls away with it.

The two signs between Hē and Aleph are very doubtful. Both stand higher than is usual for Beth, Nūn, Mem, Pe, &c., and do not remind us of any letter. The first cannot be a misshapen Mem, as a comparison with the distinct Mem of line 1 would show. It does not appear to be a misshapen Nūn either, in view of the heaviness of the top and the shortness and thinness of the tail. The subsequent sign, alleged to be Beth, disagrees in slant and curvature completely with the Beth over it in line 4, quite apart from the missing loop which would have to be regarded as having been effaced, although the strokes of the next near letters, the Aleph after it and the tail over it, are well preserved.

Thus, since it is highly improbable that this word is נבא, and as it is even more unlikely that the conjecture " Uriyahu " is correct, this ostracon is thereby robbed of its great rôle in Torczyner's theory, where the prophet Uriah is the centre of the Lachish Letters.

Reverse: On the original hardly anything can be seen, it looks as though the marks were merely accidental surface formations, as most of them do not resemble letters. It would also appear suspicious that the writing on both the obverse and reverse has the same top side, a position which is in contrast with general usage. The photo, however, seems to decide in favour of writing on the reverse, too.

Line 4: The last sign seems to be too high for the left stroke of Heth. Accordingly, we would have to read Hē + Waw. The preceding sign can hardly be a Waw, as in the edition. The two preceding letters might be Beth and Resh or

Daleth, and [ע]בד or [ד]בר would be possible. One is tempted to read the whole line as עבדיהו but Yodh would not tally very well with the trace.

TRANSLITERATION OF OSTRACON XVI

Obverse

1 ח̄מא̿
2 ד̿ה̄י
3 -לח̿ה-
4 ב̿ר בנ̄י
5 --ה--א

Reverse

2 ע̿--מ̿
3 -ל-א
4 -ב̿ד̿-ה̄ו̄
ר ד

OSTRACON XVII

Line 1: If the second sign is Beth, then it has the clearest base of all the examples of that letter occurring in our ostraca.

Line 2: The first letter is doubtful, and the rest not certain. The last sign seems to be Yodh. If it is, then it would be of the older type, in keeping with the type of the Beth in line 1. There is, however, the third letter of line 3, which is distinctly Yodh. Unless we assume that the scribe used both types together (which is nothing very unusual and often occurs in our own writing)—we should have to decide against the letter in line 2 being Yodh.

Line 3: There is some similarity between the first letter and between the second in the preceding line, which might tempt us to read both as either Daleths or Reshs. In the sign in line 3, the triangle seems to be more pointed and to have a longer downstroke; hence it might rather be a Resh; on the other hand, the top stroke sticking out would seem to hint at a Daleth. The next sign like the very similar one in line 2 is apparently a Nūn, of the angular three stroke type. This would be in keeping with the form of Beth in line i (and of Yodh in line 2 ?). It seems impossible to reconcile the letter with a Mem, as Torczyner would have it, because there is no trace of the stroke present even in the most cursive writing of the other ostraca, representing the union of the two original ticks which formed the top part of the letter. The last letter of the line is doubtful, but Hē is improbable : the slant of the top line is very slight, its length very small, and one of the left strokes would be missing. We are inclined to think it is a Resh. It might be the beginning of a new word, the first being [א]דני ; the Aleph may have been at the end of the preceding line.

This ostracon does not afford any material for connecting it with Ostracon i as the name Jeremiah does not occur in it.

TRANSLITERATION OF OSTRACON XVII

1 עבח
2 אדני
3 רניר

OSTRACON XVIII

Line 1 : On the photograph, the word אשר clearly stands out at the end of the line, but I was unable to see it on the sherd. In placing it in the same position towards my eyes as it stands on the facsimile the word became visible—the letters seemed to be the result of light and shade, especially so in the case of the Aleph.

The group שלמ is hardly a connecting link with Ostraca i and vii.

Line 2 : The Aleph of אדני seems to be visible.

TRANSLITERATION OF OSTRACON XVIII

1 עד. הערב-----שלמ-של--ב---ספר
2 שלח. אדני----הע----

REVIEWS AND NOTICES

Der Ursprung des Alphabets. By H. BAUER. (Der alte Orient, Band 36, Heft 1/2.) Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1937. 44 pp., 13 pls.

In this well-written posthumous essay the distinguished Hebraist sets forth the reasons for which he was unable to accept any of the current theories of the origin of the alphabet, and advances a hypothesis of his own. Needless to say, he assents to the orthodox view of the immediate source of the Greek and Latin alphabets, so that the problem really resolves itself into the question concerning the derivation of the Phoenician script. His first section discusses the principle underlying alphabetic writing in general, and here he shows himself in accord with the conclusions of Sethe,[1] who, following in the footsteps of H. Schaefer, had proved that the lack of vowels in the Phoenician alphabet was a defect that could be due only to the influence of the Egyptian hieroglyphs. Bauer's second section undertakes to prove that the Phoenician letters cannot have originated in pictorial signs. He begins with a good historical survey of the contrary opinions down to the time of Gesenius. Next he proceeds to test his contention by a detailed examination of the twenty-two Phoenician letters, taking as his basis the forms on the sarcophagus of Aḥiram found by Montet at Byblos. Upon the basis chosen by himself he is able to achieve this task with unquestionable success, and he therefore concludes that the theory which would make the forms of the letters correspond to the letter-names rests on a very weak foundation. The letter-names he explains as having a merely mnemotechnic purpose, as in Runic and elsewhere. This leads to an attack upon the theory which I myself propounded in 1916 (see *Journal of Eg. Archaeology*, III, 1 foll.), according to which the proto-Sinaitic inscriptions discovered by Sir Flinders Petrie at Serābīṭ el-Khādim contained something like the very pictorial alphabet postulated by Gesenius. The subsequent history of the Sinai hypothesis is very fairly set forth, with due mention of the names of my allies. Allusion is made to the new material discovered at

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[1] *Der Ursprung des Alphabets, N N G*, 1916.

Serābīṭ by the Finnish and American expeditions, and also to the ewer subsequently found by Starkey at Tell el-Duweir.

Bauer's criticism of the labours which have given rise to a full hundred books and articles is, in my opinion unduly dogmatic and quite unreasonable. It is also not free from obscurities. What can mean the sentence (p. 25) " Eine Vergleichung der beiden Schriftarten wäre nur dann möglich, wenn die Sinaischrift ganz oder zum grossen Teil entziffert wäre ? " Surely it is possible to compare the Sinai script, on the one hand with the images evoked by the letter-names, and on the other hand with the Phoenician letter-shapes, without any recourse to decipherment at all. So far as the first of these two operations is concerned Bauer himself has to admit (p. 24) that in six cases (ox=*āleph*, house=*bēth*, hand=*yōdh*, water =*mēm*, eye=*'ayin*, head=*rēsh*) the Sinai script leaves nothing to be desired. As regards the second operation, Bauer's judgment is warped by the excessive importance which he attaches to the inscriptions of Aḥiram. It is true that an alabaster vase with the cartouches of Ramesses II and the fragment of another naming the same king were found in the tomb, which may well, therefore, go back to the thirteenth century. But the differences between the forms of Aḥiram and those of Abiba'al and Eliba'al are exceedingly small, and it seems just possible that the true date of Aḥiram may be somewhat nearer to the Bubastite age (tenth century) when the two latter kings of Byblos lived ; I see that Albright now dates Aḥiram, on the ground of the potsherds in the tomb, to about 1100 B.C.[1] To my mind the exact date of Aḥiram is of limited importance, since it would not follow that because the script he uses is chronologically earlier than any other Phoenician writing—that is Bauer's assumption—it is also typologically earlier. There are some reasons to think that the Byblos style was eccentric in certain details. The upright *mēm* is not found in Mesha or at Zengirli or in early Greek, and if on sites as far apart as Dībān (Moab) and Zengirli the *āleph* clearly displays what we Serābīṭists regard as the muzzle and horns of an ox, is it likely that the divergent form in Aḥiram represents the prototype ?

Full justice is particularly needful in the case of an eminent scholar unhappily no longer able to answer for himself, and it must not be forgotten that Bauer was probably ignorant of the newest evidence from Palestine and Syria.[1] Could he have failed to be impressed by the now demonstrated fact that a hieroglyphic script closely akin to that of Serābīt was by no means confined to that remote region, but was in common use (though possibly with variations and not employed for diplomatic correspondence) all over southern Palestine round about 1500 B.C.? At Byblos itself there has been found at least one fragmentary inscription which its discoverer, M. Dunand, regards as older than Aḥiram and which shows the Phoenician script in very different guise.[2] The plaque from Shechem,[3] only a little south of Samaria, is of the greatest importance. Not only does it exhibit a human head bearing close resemblance to that on the Tell el-Duweir dagger and in the Sinai texts, but it also has what must surely be *mēm* and *āleph* (see fig. in text) in shapes closely akin to the earliest Greek and Italic forms. At Tell el-Duweir there is a steady progression from a true pictorial script (the dagger) through one in which some pictures are still recognizable (the ewer) down to forms that are almost completely linear and are strikingly similar to undisputed Phoenician (the bowl). Semitic scholars have had no difficulty in reading on the bowl בשלשת, perhaps "for the third time," and if this should be correct we not only note that the *lamedh* has the bend at the top as at Sinai and in Greek, but also *bēta* exhibits a form intermediate between the

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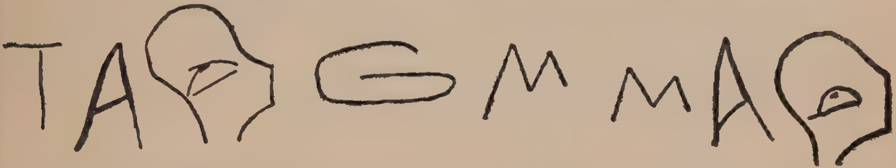
[1] See *ZDPV* 61, 6 n. 2.



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[1] Convenient summaries by Böhl in *ZDPV* 61, 1 foll., and by Obermann in *JAOS* 1938, Supplement.

[2] *Mélanges Maspero* I, 567. The accompanying photographic plate does not confirm the tempting interpretation *rab Gebal* given by Grimme in *Muséon* 49, 86. To the left of the first sign in l. 2 there is what looks like a word-divider and this cannot be explained away as simply as is done by Grimme.

[3] The figure in the text below is taken from the articles mentioned in n. 2 above.

ordinary Phoenician 𐤁 and the original house-sign as seen at Sinai and on the Gezer sherd.[1]

On purely external grounds at least ten letters—to the six already mentioned I would add *zain*, *lāmedh*, *nūn* (*nahash*) and *sin*—are so satisfactory that even apart from attempted renderings the case for a genetic connection between the Phoenician and the Sinai scripts would have been a very strong one. Bauer attaches great importance to a " Prinzip der Ganzheit " (p. 26), which seems to me greatly to overrate the possibilities offered by what after all remains a small number of fragmentary and much weathered texts. In his explanation of the letter-names he ignores the objections to the simple mnemotechnic theory with which I dealt at length in my original article. He lays great stress (pp. 26–7) upon the fact that from Aḥiram to Eshmun‘azar (fifth century) there has been so little change in the shapes, and implies that it must always have been so. In this the analogy of the Latin alphabet shows him to be wrong. There is little difference between the capitals we use to-day and an inscription of the time of Augustus, but between the latter and the Moabite stone the divergencies are great. As a general principle I believe we can usually assume a formative period in which important changes occur with relative rapidity, after which comes a period of quiescence and immobility. However, Butin in his last article[2] has made it probable that the Sinai script goes back to Amenemmes III, as I originally supposed. Perhaps the most likely provisional hypothesis is that from the end of the Twelfth Dynasty onwards there were in the Semitic lands in the immediate neighbourhood of Egypt several slightly different alphabets with the same common pictographic nucleus, a state of affairs for which one can compare the variation, even if smaller, between the number and the values of the letters of the early Greek and Italic alphabets.

With regard to the serious and at least in some cases probably successful attempts to identify individual words in the Sinai and other proto-Phoenician texts Bauer says nothing, though several of them have had the approval of Semitists whose authority no one would wish to dispute. "It is also completely erroneous," he writes (pp. 25–6), "when it is said that the reading of the group Baʿalat is certain, but that all else is more or less uncertain." It would be fairer to state that for Baʿalat alone is there convergent confirmatory evidence, so that all other suggestions must remain more or less problematical until a well-preserved inscription turns up that can be rendered satisfactorily from beginning to end. Let us admit that the Serābīṭ hypothesis remains for the present a hypothesis, but it is one which gains in probability every year. There have been set-backs such as the discovery of the pseudo-hieroglyphic script at Byblos, the emergence of new signs that cannot be explained, the failure to account satisfactorily for either the names or the forms of a number of letters. But all this does not justify Bauer and others who think like him in throwing so much good work on the scrap-heap. I maintain it is much more reasonable to believe in the Sinai hypothesis than not to do so.

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[1] As Obermann (*op. cit.*, p. 18) points out, there is a doubt as to which way up the bowl should be placed for reading purposes. I have assumed, with him, that the inscription reads from left to right.

[2] *Studies and Documents, VI*, London, 1936, p. 35. See too below, p. 6, n. 3.

What has Bauer to set in its place?[1] Merely an utterly groundless conjecture that a man of genius, knowing the method and possibilities of the Egyptian alphabet, invented the Phoenician script *de toutes pièces* much in the form in which it occurs on the sarcophagus of Aḥiram. The analogies which he quotes for such a proceeding (pp. 28 foll.) are interesting enough, but they are not new nor do they lend one tittle of support to his own theory as opposed to mine. A highly gifted individual inventor has to be assumed for the Sinai script in any case, and it seems far more likely that such an inventor, if dependent at all on the Egyptian writing, should have utilized its forms as well as its non-vocalic principle.[2]

In this lengthy review it has been impossible to mention all the points of interest in Bauer's monograph. His discussion of the Ras Shamra script is noteworthy, though Dussaud now admits[1] that the Phoenician writing had priority over it. So far as I can see, the bearing of the Ras Shamra writing upon the question of the origin of our own alphabet is practically nil. That writing probably emanated from a people who had learned from their neighbours in the south the advantage of a purely alphabetic script, but who were still using clay tablets and for that reason, as well as from long tradition, were unable to liberate themselves from the employment of cuneiform characters. Bauer's work also contains a section on the later introduction of vowel signs into the Greek alphabet (pp. 40–4) and scattered about there are many acute observations on points of detail. The adverse view I have here taken of the whole does not mean that his little book is not well worth reading by all interested in this most fascinating of philological problems.

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[1] I take this opportunity of stating that the conjectures of Leibovitch, to whom we are indebted for the best published copies of the Sinai texts, appear to me even more fantastic and unlikely than Bauer's own. Leibovitch's latest attempt is in *Bull. de l'Institut d'Egypte*, vol. 20, pp. 19 foll.

[2] He was probably under the impression that the Egyptian signs were acrophonic. This, however, is pure conjecture.

ALAN H. GARDINER.

Denkmäler Palästinas. VON CARL WATZINGER II, 1935, Leipzig. (J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung.)

Professor Watzinger has called his book *Denkmäler Palästinas*, Monuments of Palestine, and describes it modestly as an introduction to the archaeology of the holy land. The title exactly describes the contents. Whatever the period, the author starts from a concrete monument, be it a town plan, or a building, or a group of artefacts, bronzes or pots or coins. References are given to the relevant literature but very full details are also given in the text and there are nearly a hundred illustrations, plans and photographs, carefully selected and admirably reproduced. The writer knows Palestine well, he has seen most of the monuments with his own eyes, he is a master of lucid exposition, and he is equally at home in the archaeology of other lands in the Near East: it follows that he has produced a work of the highest value. There is hardly a significant monument in the length and breadth of Palestine which is not treated in this book, and the two volumes which have appeared form the best guide book in existence. Many of the descriptions are necessarily couched in technical terms, but the style is clear and the narrative flowing : the individual monuments have been treated in their chronological context and the trees have not hidden the wood. The student who has mastered these books will have learned a great deal not only about isolated buildings but also about the general evolution of material culture in the holy land.

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[1] *Les decouvertes de Ras Shamra*, pp. 51–2. I am unable to estimate the importance of the signs (apparently reading O.K.!) on a vase of Amenemmes III published by Montet, *Byblos et l'Egypte*, p. 160.

The volume before us, Volume II, deals with the monuments of the long period which begins with the Assyrian conquest and ends with the Arab invasion in the seventh century of our era. It is the period to which some of the most famous monuments in the world belong, buildings like the Temple of Herod and the Holy Sepulchre. Remains of them are still visible : they have been published again and again, and new material is constantly coming to hand which throws fresh light upon their history. These are the buildings about which the intelligent visitor to Palestine wants information most. In W.'s pages they will find a tolerably detailed account of the earliest portions of the monuments in question, those which fall within the limits of the period concerned, and they will find a fair statement of the problems which these fragments raise. Of course, it is not to be supposed that W. has always hit the centre of the target : in the matter of the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem, for example, Mr. Harvey's discoveries have finally disproved the conclusions which are set forth in this book, and later finds elsewhere may show that he is wrong in other contentions on particular issues, but this does not seriously detract from the merit of the work. The broad lines are right and the arrangement is such that the necessary corrections can be made without upsetting the main sequence.

The book is divided into four sections of more or less equal length. The first is called, not very happily perhaps, the period of foreign rule, *Die Zeit der Fremdherrschaften* : the second, Herod the Great : the third, the Period of the Roman Empire, and the last, the Byzantine Epoch. Of the earlier " Foreign Rulers " (the Assyrians, Babylonians and Persians) the remains are very scanty : there is less even than W. says, for the so-called Greek fort wall at Samaria which he follows Fisher in thinking Babylonian, belongs in fact to a latish date, second century in all probability. On the other hand, W. is quite right in laying stress on the strong Greek influences with which Palestine was permeated long before the time of Alexander. Features which are certainly Oriental—old Hebrew, Phoenician, Persian or Arab—are undoubtedly to be found in later Palestinian buildings, but they are all of the nature of survivals in a context which is fundamentally Hellenistic : they are like the Gothic elements which were carried over into the classical art of the renaissance in the West. The Hellenistic, or more specifically, the Alexandrian tradition, was strong down to the end of W.'s second period, the time of Herod, whose cultural ideas are well compared with those of the Diadochi.

In the first two chapters W.'s method is seen at its best in the descriptions of the vast building at Arak el Amir, or Tyros, in Transjordan ; in his account of the temple of Herod at Jerusalem, where he follows the Mishna rather than Josephus ; and in his treatment of the many tombs in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem. The contrast which he draws between these and the contemporary tombs at Petra might well have been expanded : Petra indeed lies within the present limits of Palestine and Transjordan and we should have welcomed a longer account of it from one who is so well qualified as Professor Watzinger.

In the third section the lay-out and the remains of Aelia, the New Jerusalem, naturally occupy some pages, and more than once W. challenges the conclusions reached by Vincent. With the example of Bethlehem before his eyes, which was almost equally damaging to both these great authorities, the wise man will hold his hand. From Aelia W. passes to Gerasa, Samaria, the tombs scattered about the country, and the older group of synagogues. The reviewer welcomes W.'s account of the basilica at Samaria : it is a real improvement on anything previously written, but the riddle of this building will not be solved until it has been wholly cleared, if then : it seems to me doubtful whether the original building was roofed in the centre : if it were roofed why were such careful gutters made alongside the colonnades ? That it was later converted into a church, as W. holds in spite of the orientation, I too believe to have been the case.

The fourth section is devoted to the Christian buildings, the Holy Sepulchre and the church at Bethlehem, of course, and the numerous other churches which are known either from their remains or from the accounts in writers such as Eusebius, Procopius and Choricius.[1] The discussion of the Golden Gate is interesting: it used to be referred to the time of Eudoxia or Justinian, until Creswell argued for a still later date in the time of Modestus: it is difficult to imagine that such an imposing work can have been erected at such a period and W.'s proposal to assign it still later to the early Umayyad age is very attractive. Two other buildings in Palestine, Khirbat Mefjer near Jericho and Khirbat Minya near Tabgha, which have long been regarded as Byzantine or earlier, have now proved to be Islamic, and the Golden Gate may belong to the same circle. This leads me to the last remark which I should like to offer. Professor Watzinger has provided an admirable guide to the monuments of Palestine down to the Arab conquest, but it is the monuments which come after this, the Umayyad monuments and those of the Crusaders, which in their present state will most reward the student of architecture: may we have supplementary chapters on these, and another perhaps on the buildings of the Egyptian sultans?

J. W. C.

Ain Shems Excavations (*Palestine*). Part IV. Pottery. ELIHU GRANT AND G. ERNEST WRIGHT. Haverford, 1938.

This fine volume of plates is the first part of the definitive report on the Haverford excavations of ancient Beth Shemesh at Ain Shems (Rumeileh) Palestine. It is to be followed by a volume of text which will " present the salient points of the story in summarizing chapters." It is difficult to write a review without knowing the whole story, without, that is, knowing the circumstances in which the objects were found, and the conclusions of the excavator concerning them, but at least the attention of students should be drawn to this first volume which is devoted to the pottery studies. It contains seventy full plates, twenty-two of which are photographs of the site and excavations, thirty-one photographs of pottery and small objects, one of flints, and sixteen of line drawings of pottery, all accompanied by adequate plate lists.

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[1] There are a few slips in this chapter which should be corrected in another edition, e.g. p. 117, Helena the *gemahlin* of Constantine, *Markianos* the contemporary bishop of Jerusalem, 120 the *Kaiserin* Helena, 130 *Eudokia* for Eudoxia.

The early pottery seems to have been very fragmentary, but some types from Stratum VI are recognizable, like the MB cooking pots with holes round the rim above a band of rope moulding, and the combed decoration on finer ware shown on Pl. XXIV, both characteristic of H and G of Tell Beit Mirsim. With Stratum V the material is better preserved and forms such as the chalice with trumpet foot and carinated bowls appear in the first plate of line drawings (Pl. LV). Late Bronze, Stratum IV, is well represented by three good plates of drawings and eight of photographs in which are seen the usual assortment of fragments of wish-bone handled bowls and bilbils as well as more interesting bits of Mykenaean ware of Late Helladic III: on Pl. XXVII a Mykenaean vase, cup, and part of a "Cypro-Mykenaean" amphora, and a painted jar with ibexes on Pl. XXXVII. On Pl. XXVII there are also some curious local imitations of both Cypro-Phenician and Mykenaean ware.

A fragment of a Mykenaean amphora of the Cypriote chariot type is shown on Pl. XLIX, found in extra-mural debris. Only the upper part of the charioteer is present, but there is no doubt of his occupation for he holds the ends of the four reins in his hand. Iron Ia–b, Stratum III, produced nothing very outstanding, but one may note the fine painted stirrup vase on Pl. XXXVIII. From Stratum II came the interesting chalice on a tripod stem shown on Pl. XLIX, 6, of which a drawing was previously published in A.S.II. Pl. XXXV, 28. This seems to be an imitation in cheap material of the fine bronze tripods of Megiddo, usually called lamp stands. The Ain Shems tripod is said to come from the tenth century level, which agrees well with the dating of Megiddo tripods which are usually attributed to the time of Sheshonk.[1] Another curiosity from Str. II is a stemmed chalice with a spout in the centre on Pl. LXIV, 32.

In the plate lists of Iron Ic–IIc there seems a lack of the obvious cross references to T.B.M. and other sites, but here the need for the volume of text is probably being felt.

The Hellenistic period was not rich at Ain Shems, it is shown only by a few jars and cooking pots on Pl. LXIX. The last plate in the book gives some pleasant drawings of patterns from Arab painted ware found near the Monastery; unfortunately no forms could be restored.

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[1] Tell el Mutesellim, II, p. 26ff.

So far as one can judge from the indifferent reproduction, the flint implements (Pl. LIV), are on the whole typical of the periods covered. Dr. Grant may have stratigraphical grounds for placing the chisels (nos. 1–4) in the neolithic and chalcolithic periods : there is no reason why he should do so from a typological point of view, for chisels such as these do survive into later periods, though usually only in small numbers. It is interesting to note that sickle-blades of the type characteristic of the Iron Age—blades almost as broad as they are long, with blunting retouch along the back and across the ends—are found also in the Late Bronze (Stratum IV) of Ain Shems (Nos. 28–30, 33 and 34). G.M.C.

The Buildings of Qāytbāy as described in his Endowment Deed, edited by L. A. MAYER, Ph.D., F.S.A. Fascicle I Text and Index. London, Arthur Probsthain, 1938. X-96 pp.

The Sultan Qāitbāy, a Burjī Mamlūk, reigned in Egypt 873–901 A.H. (1468–1495 A.D.). Of the historians who deal with his period Muir makes only a faint allusion to his buildings, and Weil gives them only half a sentence : *Doch wird an ihm gerühmt, dass er viele Moscheen, Brücken und Dämme, theils neu bauen, theils wieder herstellen liess*. The very detailed description of them edited by Professor Mayer from a MS belonging to the Ministry of Waqfs in Cairo is of great interest as it furnishes information not only about the structure of the buildings but also about their administration, their upkeep, the uses to which they are to be put, and the persons who are to profit by them. Only the Arabic text with Index of proper names is badly in need of the promised Glossary, since even the invaluable Dozy fails to interpret some of the technicalities employed, and the frequent references to Cairene localities render a map something of a necessity. For many pages a translation with plans would be desirable.

Probably Professor Mayer will supply all these desiderata in due time. The text is evidently edited with very great care, and its *Kanzleistil* with verbose repetitions of formulae must have been trying to the editor's patience.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

The Committee have to acknowledge with thanks the following:

The Antiquaries Journal, XIX, 1, January, 1939. Excavations at Atchana-Alalakh, 1938, by Sir Leonard Woolley. A Preliminary Account of the Tablets from Atchana, by Sidney Smith.

The Expository Times, January–March, 1939. Recent Biblical Archaeology, by J. W. Jack.

Great Britain and the East, January–March, 1939.

The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology, 24, 2, December, 1938. The House of Life, by Alan H. Gardiner.

The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, LXVIII, II, December, 1938.

The Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine, VIII, 3–4. Excavations in Palestine and Trans-Jordan, 1937–8.

Religions, January, 1939.

The Scottish Geographical Magazine, 54, 6 : 55, 1.

American Journal of Archaeology, XLII, 4.

American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures, XVI, 1. *Ephod* and *Ariel*, by H. G. May. The Meaning of "The Shulammite," by H. H. Rowley.

Geographical Review, January, 1939. The Geographical Regions of Palestine, by D. H. Kallner and E. Rosenau. A Peculiar Phenomenon of the Dead Sea: The Floating Lines of Foam, by D. Ashbel.

The Jewish Quarterly Review, January, 1939. The Lachish Letters, by J. Reider.

Journal of the American Oriental Society, 58, 4, December, 1938.

Nouvelle Revue Théologique, November–December, 1938, January–February, 1939.

Revue Biblique, January, 1939. Glanes archéologiques a Ma'in (Transjordanie), by R. de Vaux. L'aube de l'histoire à Jéricho, L. H. Vincent.

Syria, XIX, 4. Les Fouilles de Ras-Shamra-Ugarit. Neuvième campagne, by C. F. A. Schaeffer. Les Ivoires de Mégiddo, by C. de Mertzenfeld. Fragments alphabétiques divers de Ras Shamra, by C. Virolleaud.
Archiv für Orientforschung, XII, 4–5. Die Reliefs der assyrische Könige. IV. Die assyrischen Reliefs in England, by E. F. Weidner. Zu den aramäischen Beschwörungen in Keilschrift, by B. Landsberger.
Orientalistische Literaturzeitung, January–March, 1939. Das Archiv des Amenophis IV, W. Riedel.
Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins, 62, 1–2. Zu Text und Schrift der Ostraca von Lakiš, by K. Elliger.
Biblica, 20, I. Hilfsmittel zum Studium der Chronologie der Palästinischen Keramik, R. Koppel.
Archiv Orientalni, X. Sur quelques rapports entre Sumer-Akkad et l'Egypte, au IVe millénaire B.C., by B. Hrozny.
ΝΕΑ ΣΙΩΝ, January–March, 1939.
Al-Mashriq, April–September, 1938.
Litterae Orientales, 77, January, 1939.
Report of the Percy Sladen Expedition to Lake Huleh, by R. Washbourn and R. F. Jones.
Manuel d'Archéologogie Biblique, by A. G. Barrois.
Report of the United States National Museum, 1938.
Proceedings of the Royal Canadian Institute, 1938.
Transactions of the Royal Canadian Institute, 1938.
Journal of the Transactions of the Victoria Institute, 1938.
Annual of the British Schools at Athens, Index to Nos. XVII–XXXII.
Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus, 1936, Pt. 1.
Recent Geographical Literature, Maps and Photographs, December, 1938.

TRANSLITERATION OF HEBREW AND ARABIC CONSONANTS

HEBREW

Hebrew	English		Hebrew	English	
א	’		כ	k̲h̲	
בּ	b		ל	l	
ב	b̲h̲		מ	m	
גּ	g		נ	n	
ג	g̲h̲		ס	s	
דּ	d		ע	‘	
ד	d̲h̲		פּ	p	
ה	h		פ	f	
ו	v, w		צ	ẕ	
ז	z		ק	ḵ	
ח	ẖ		ר	r	
ט	ṯ		שׁ	s̲h̲	
י	y		שׂ	s̱	
כּ	k		תּ	t	
			ת	t̲h̲	

ARABIC

Arabic	English		Arabic	English	
ا	’		ض	ḏ	
ب	b		ط	ṯ	
ت	t		ظ	t̲z̲	
ث	t̲h̲		ع	‘	
ج	g	or j in Syrian Arabic.	غ	g̲h̲	
ح	ẖ		ف	f	
خ	k̲h̲		ق	ḵ	
د	d		ك	k	
ذ	d̲h̲		ل	l	
ر	r		م	m	
ز	z		ن	n	
س	s		ه	h	
ش	s̲h̲		و	w	
ص	ẕ		ي	y	

Long vowels marked thus :—ā, ē, ī, ō, ū

THE
PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND
NOTES AND NEWS

Summer Closing.—The office and rooms of the Palestine Exploration Fund will be closed from Monday, 7th August, re-opening Friday, 8th September.

THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND took place on 23rd June. A full report of the proceedings begins on page 128.

The troubled state of Palestine continues to hinder the progress of excavation and other archaeological activities in the country. Hence there has been little to report in this journal of late. Professor Garstang has transferred his operations to Asia Minor, and has been pursuing the excavation of a site in Cilicia which gives promise of fruitful results. The present issue of the QUARTERLY contains a preliminary account of his work in this new field.

Professor Maisler of Jerusalem has been able to continue his interesting work at Sheikh Abreik, and we hope to publish an account of it from his pen in the near future. Excavations in Transjordan have also continued without interruption, and it may be possible to give our readers news of their results in the near future. The *École biblique et archéologique française* at Jerusalem, the home of so many eminent Biblical scholars, continues its valuable work, and in the current issue of the *Revue Biblique* Père de Vaux has contributed a valuable discussion of the Lachish Letters, while in the current issue of the *Zeitschrift für Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* he has also given us an important account of the progress of archaeological discovery in Palestine and Transjordan in relation to the early history of Israel.

By the death of Mr. H. Coote Lake the Fund has lost another life-long friend and supporter. Mr. Coote Lake's name is best known in connection with the work of the Royal Anthropological Institute, and especially of the Folk Lore

Society, of which he was for many years the honorary secretary and prime mover. But in his wide range of interests Palestine occupied an important place and he was specially concerned with the light thrown by archaeology on the Old Testament. His personal charm and modesty endeared him to a large circle of friends by whom his loss will be deeply felt.

The French excavations at Mari, under the leadership of M. Parrot, have already been mentioned in this journal. It is interesting to learn from a paper in the *Revue d'Assyriologie*, XXXV, 3–4, by M. Dossin, who is engaged in translating the tablets from Mari, that these documents throw light on an important point in the Lachish ostraka. In the Fourth letter occurs the passage which is translated in Torczyner's edition as follows : " For the signal-stations we are watching, according to all the signs which my lord gives, because we do not see (the signals of) Azeqah." The same Hebrew word which is here rendered " signal-stations " occurs in Jeremiah vi. 1, where it is rendered " signal " in the R.V. Among the Mari tablets M. Dossin has found several letters which contain references to this method of signalling, and which seem to make it clear that the signals consisted of lifted torches. According to one letter a tribe of Benjaminites settled on the banks of the Euphrates between Mari and Terqa, pass the news from one village to another by means of lifted torches that an attack upon the king of Mari is threatened. Several other letters make it clear that this method of signalling was in regular use, both for military and civil purposes.

The attention of readers may be drawn to an article in the June issue of *Antiquity* entitled *Archaeology in Palestine*, by Miss Kathleen M. Kenyon. It contains reviews of various recent books on Palestinian archaeology, among which is a review of *The Lachish Letters*, editio princeps. It is interesting to note that Miss Kenyon is not entirely satisfied that Tell ed-Duweir is the site of ancient Lachish. With regard to the many disputed readings in the Letters themselves, Professor Albright's remarks in the BASOR, 73, are worth quoting, " Now that so many scholars have tried their hands at reading and interpreting the Lachish documents, it is highly desirable that a trained Hebraist and palaeographer who is not too much interested in defending personal views should subject the originals to a minute examination before the ink fades any more. It is hardly likely that much further progress can be made until this has been done, since the subjective element increases rapidly as the clear material basis for reading the text becomes exhausted."

With regard to Mr. Barnett's review of *The Samaria Ivories*, which appears in this issue, readers who are not aware of the fact may be glad to know that a number of the original pieces are to be seen under excellent conditions at the Rooms of the Fund at 2 Hinde St., Manchester Sq. The new cases, which are a memorial to the late Lady Watson, are now in position, and the collection of Palestinian objects has been completely re-arranged and described, furnishing a valuable and easily accessible source of information for students of Palestinian archaeology.

On Wednesday, 26th April, an exhibition was held at the Institute of Archaeology of photographs from the excavations at Sheikh Ibreiq (Beth She'arim), directed by Dr. B. Maisler on behalf of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society. The exhibition was opened by Sir Charles Marston, supported by the Chief Rabbi, the Rev. Dr. Hertz. A cinematograph film of the excavations was shown, with a commentary by Dr. Maisler. The photographs exhibited were of a very high quality, and showed the extremely interesting architectural features of the synagogue, the earliest found in Palestine, and of the tombs. Beth She'arim became the cultural centre of the Jews, and the seat of the Sanhedrin, after the fall of Jerusalem, and to it were brought the bodies of the Jews who had died in many parts of the Near East, even from as far as the Yemen. The tombs, which are of many different types, with loculi, arcosolia and coccim, are in some cases family vaults, and in others for groups from the same locality. Many have inscriptions, and the different languages illustrate the wideness of the dispersion of the Jews.

SUBSCRIBERS IN EDINBURGH. Please note that Prof. N. Porteous of 3 Hermitage Gardens, Edinburgh 10, has kindly undertaken to act as Hon. Local Secretary of the P.E.F. in succession to the late Prof. A. R. S. Kennedy.

SEVENTY-FOURTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

Friday, 23rd June, 1939

The Rt. Rev. The Bishop of Portsmouth *in the Chair*

The Seventy-fourth Annual General Meeting of the Palestine Exploration Fund was held at 2 Hinde Street, Manchester Square, London, W.1, on Friday, 23rd June, 1939. The Bishop of Portsmouth (The Rt. Rev. Frank Partridge, D.D.) presided over a gathering of many members and others interested in the work of the Fund. After the transaction of the formal business a lecture was given by Professor John Garstang, D.Sc., F.S.A., on " Discoveries in Cilicia."

Apologies regretting inability to be present were announced from the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Rochester, Dr. E. W. G. Masterman and Mr. Sidney Smith .

The Rev. C. B. Mortlock (Honorary Secretary) read the Minutes of the Seventy-third Annual Meeting and these were confirmed and signed as correct.

Report and Accounts

Colonel Sir Charles Arden-Close (Chairman of the Executive Committee) moved the adoption of the Annual Report and Accounts which, having been circulated to subscribers, were taken as read. He said :

My Lord Bishop and Members of the Palestine Exploration Fund, I beg to move the adoption of the Annual Report and Accounts for 1938. These have been distributed to subscribers, and you will, no doubt, wish them to be taken as read.

At the Annual General Meeting last year, Sir Robert Mond seconded the adoption of the Report and Accounts, and remarked that the best memorial to Mr. J. L. Starkey would be a steady continuation of archaeological work in Palestine. Now, alas ! we have to deplore the death of Sir Robert himself, whose interest in archaeology and whose generous support of the costly work of excavation at Jericho, Lachish and elsewhere, are very well known to all of us. His death is a serious loss to Palestinian archaeology. We have also, unfortunately, had to record the death, in October last, of that distinguished scholar Professor A. R. S. Kennedy, who had been for ten years our Local Secretary in Edinburgh. He died in his seventy-ninth year, leaving behind him a memory of accurate scholarship and of a very kindly personality.

An important event during the year 1938 was the publication of one of the volumes describing the joint excavations at Samaria. This volume deals with the *Early Ivories from Samaria*, and is written by Mr. J. W. Crowfoot and Mrs. Crowfoot. It gives a very full and interesting account of the ivories which, no doubt, formed part of the decoration of Ahab's palace. These ivories are compared with those discovered at Nineveh and in Northern Syria.

The book is issued as one of the publications of the Fund ; it is an admirable volume, beautifully illustrated.

Our Honorary Treasurer, Colonel Newcombe, has informed the Executive Committee that pressure of other work will prevent his continuing to act in that capacity for the Fund. The Committee much regret his decision and would like to take this opportunity of thanking him for looking after our finances with so much efficiency during a difficult period. If we consider how much almost all societies are feeling the effect of the series of economic and political crises through which we are passing, we can congratulate ourselves on weathering the storm, so far, fairly well. But we must strive to build up our membership and form a reserve fund, so that we may be able to take the field effectively, as soon as conditions in Palestine allow of this being done.

With the kind consent of Mr. A. M. Hyamson, the Executive Committee will put forward his name to take the place of Colonel Newcombe as Honorary Treasurer. The nomination, if approved, will take effect immediately after this meeting. Colonel Newcombe is willing to continue to serve on the Executive Committee if elected.

Sir Charles Marston, in seconding, endorsed what had been said with regard to the loss the Fund had sustained by the death of Sir Robert Mond. He added that in the United States there was a decided tendency towards popularization of archaeology and said it seemed that an effort in that direction might successfully be made in Great Britain.

There being no comments, The Chairman put the proposition to the meeting and declared it carried *nem. con.*

The Chairman added that he felt that the meeting would like to take the opportunity of confirming the motion of sympathy which the Executive Committee had already expressed with the family of the late Sir Robert Mond. He accordingly moved that the Secretary of the Fund be instructed to convey to the family of Sir Robert Mond from the Annual Meeting an expression of regret for his death and sympathy with his family.

The proposition was carried, members upstanding in silent tribute to the memory of Sir Robert.

Honorary Treasurer

Colonel Sir Charles Arden-Close, in proposing the election of Mr. A. M. Hyamson as Honorary Treasurer, said that Mr. Hyamson had already as a member of the Executive Committee proved himself to be most interested in the Fund. He had done much for the Library. Members could not do better than elect him as Honorary Treasurer.

Mr. J. W. Crowfoot seconded and the proposition was carried unanimously.

Election of Executive Committee

On the motion of Dr. F. M. Goadby, seconded by the Bishop of Truro, the Executive Committee was unanimously re-elected, with the inclusion of the name of Colonel Stewart F. Newcombe.

Appointment of Auditors

Messrs. Turquand, Youngs, McAuliffe & Co., Chartered Accountants, were unanimously re-appointed Auditors for 1939.

Chairman's Address

The Chairman then said: It was a great pleasure to me to receive the invitation from the Executive Committee of this Fund to preside at the Annual Meeting, not only because I have been interested in archaeology and ecclesiology for a great many years but also because friends of mine are connected with this Fund who have a right to call upon me for my assistance on such occasions.

No mention has so far been made of the work done by Mr. Mortlock who has been known to me for a number of years past in all kinds of connections. He is one of those people who find time to do everything. I feel sure this meeting will desire to express its gratitude to him for acting in that capacity which generally receives all the kicks and very few of the half-pence. Mr. Mortlock's knowledge of an infinite number of subjects is always an astonishment to me. I read his articles in newspapers and wonder where he gets all his knowledge from. Here at any rate in the Palestine Exploration Fund his work is recognized and appraised at its right merit.

Mr. Mortlock suggested to me that perhaps it might be possible for me to say something with regard to my visit to the Holy Land in 1937 and my connection with the excavation work going on in various parts of that country. I am glad to be able to do so, and I hope I may bring a breath of Portsmouth fresh air into the somewhat dusty atmosphere of archaeology.

When fate took me across the sea it was the first time I had been in Palestine and, in common with other visitors, I do not suppose I shall easily forget the thrill which came upon me when I woke up one morning and found myself looking upon the grassy slopes of Mount Carmel. I visited three sites where excavation work was proceeding and I was, of course, in close contact with some others. I saw what was being done at Capernaum. I looked at the sites with, as far as I could, an independent eye and tried to make up my mind who was right, although I do not think I have sufficient knowledge to decide whether the Tabgha excavation was likely to be more accurate in definition than the two other sites which have been long claimed as being the sites of Capernaum.

On the evening of the day after which I arrived in Haifa I had my first entertaining incident. Sir Charles Marston had asked me to lay the foundation stone of a school at Haifa in which he was interested and to which he had made large contributions. I did so. Sitting next to me on the platform was a gentleman who was not introduced to me, and when I was with Mr. Keith-Roach that night he said : " We did not tell you who you were sitting next to, but you might be interested to know that it was the Mayor of Haifa. As there was an attempt to shoot him twice during the course of last week we thought it just as well you should not know whom you were sitting next to ; it might have made you nervous."

I went from Haifa down to Jerusalem and then on to the most interesting part of my tour, the excavation at Tell ed-Duweir where, of course, I stayed with that great man, Mr. J. L. Starkey. He really was, I suppose, *par excellence* an excavator and discoverer. I not only went over the whole of that great Tell with him on many occasions and listened to him trying to discover what was the ancient line of approach to it, which is still uncertain, but I went thoroughly into all the excavations which he had been making. I should like to comment publicly here on the difference between the excavations at Lachish as compared, say, with those at Jericho and elsewhere. Unfortunately, what can be seen at Jericho now is something which nobody can really understand. Of course I am well aware that many people have excavated at the site and in those circumstances you cannot expect to get anything but confusion in the end. However that may be, those who worked at Jericho found things which were of the greatest possible value from the archaeological point of view. I am only referring to the fact that the site as a site for exploration is now spoiled.

Lachish, on the other hand, has been worked scientifically as stage has proceeded after stage. Hence we have there a site where future progress has not been hampered by unscientific or unregulated work. I hope very much that somehow or other it will be possible to continue work there. The site is in a country which is certainly full of interest and will in the future, I feel convinced, reveal a good deal more than has yet been discovered.

I was particularly glad to go with Mr. Starkey all over the Philistine plain because he had his eye upon Askalon, for example. I visited Askalon and other places in Philistia which seemed to me certainly full of sherds and of sites which had been occupied by succeeding generations and races of men. When the Chairman of the Executive Committee appealed for a reserve fund in order that you may begin work again in Palestine as soon as possible after the present disorders have ceased it seemed to me that we were listening to an appeal which ought thoroughly to be supported because there is an infinite amount of work in that part of the world which is capable of being begun and continued at once. The discoveries at Lachish, in the opinion at any rate of the people in the University of Jerusalem and others in Jersualem, will warrant continuance of the work in that part of Palestine. Not only do we owe a debt of gratitude to the late Sir Robert Mond but we must not forget the debt we also owe to Sir Charles Marston for making so much of that work possible.

I went out to the Holy Land not knowing much about Palestinian archaeology. I went as an independent individual. I was profoundly impressed, and I would like to leave the sense of that impression upon this meeting. I was profoundly impressed by the nature of the work being done, the spirit in which it was being conducted, the character of the people who were conducting it and its great importance to the elucidation of the true facts with regard to the Old Testament.

Perhaps an amusing experience during the course of my visit to Lachish may not be out of place if I am to bring a little fresh air. I was taken by Mr. Starkey one night in the dark away into the wild country to take supper with a sheikh. I sat down in the tent and a steaming bowl containing rice and some meat of kinds was put before me, into which I was expected to thrust my bare arm up to the elbow in order to get the tit-bits from the bottom of the bowl. I did that with as much grace as I could and with a smile. I certainly was much interested to find how there at any rate the influence of the excavators had made the name of Britain and of England well beloved. I listened to the homely jokes which the Arabs told me through my interpreter and I in turn helped to amuse them by describing snowballing in London. I compared a snowball to a handful of the rice out of the succulent dish before me. In any event, I came away persuaded that so far as the Arab had been brought into contact with the excavator a very friendly feeling was prevailing, and I cannot for the life of me to this day understand how it was that Mr. Starkey should have been killed within a few miles of Tell ed-Duweir. We may know some day. At any rate, the man was beloved by everybody with whom he came into contact; he was a driving force and will long be missed. I mourn him as a friend.

I came away from Lachish intending to preach to all and sundry the desirability of continuing the work there. I fear that the camp has been broken up, and I believe burned, by marauding tribes of Arabs, but I am not without hope that we may see back again there one or two I think I see in this room, who have been working there in the past. I hope that the work may begin again and be as prolific in discovery as it was under Mr. Starkey.

I am afraid I have taken up all my time not so much dealing with archaeology as describing the general situation, but if I have done anything to encourage those who are responsible for exploration in Palestine and if I have done anything to arouse a sense of interest in those who are interested in archaeology and determined to support the work of the Palestine Exploration Fund, then my visit to Palestine and my visit here will not have been in vain. I do most earnestly commend to your support and to your interest the work of the Fund. I regret that the list of subscribers is not longer. I looked through it with some anxiety before I came to the meeting and found my name was not there; how I came to be left out I am not sure. At any rate, I hope the Secretary will pursue me with intention and certainty to make sure my name is on the list in future. I desire to support not only by word but by contribution the work of a Fund the reports of which I have been reading for many years and in which I really do take a deep interest.

I have stood between you and Professor Garstang for too long, but I now ask him to tell us about his discoveries in Cilicia.

PROFESSOR GARSTANG then delivered the lecture which is printed on page 137.

Vote of Thanks

MR. J. W. CROWFOOT, in proposing a hearty vote of thanks to Professor Garstang for his extraordinarily interesting lecture, reminded the meeting that Professor Garstang had spent a fairly long life in making remarkable finds in various parts of the Near East, but Mr. Crowfoot questioned whether Professor Garstang had discovered any site which was quite so astonishing in its character as that near Mersin. The tremendous depth of the accumulation existing there was evident from the photographs and diagrams shown during the course of the lecture. Of particular interest in the earlier periods were the the admirable house-plans which Professor Garstang had found in connection with some of the earlier levels. From them there was good hope of getting a much clearer impression of the various periods before there was any writing than had been possible from the broken fragments of pottery and stone implements which were generally all that one had to go on. Professor Garstang had at Cilicia had something of the same good fortune as had met him in regard to the site at Jericho to which the Chairman had referred. It was true that weather and neglect had somewhat spoilt that site. Fortunately, said Mr. Crowfoot, he had been able to visit it before it had been spoiled when it was obvious that when Professor Garstang was at work there it was much easier to follow the sequences of events. Though of course he had not had such a vast area to deal with as at Mersin Professor Garstang had been successful in finding a succession of floors going back to very early periods, and if it had been possible to extend the area even further he would have obtained a good many house-plans and so on that would have thrown almost as much light on the chalcolithic strata as had already been thrown, to some extent, and would probably be thrown to greater extent, on the remains at Mersin.

Mr. A. M. Hyamson had much pleasure in seconding the vote of thanks. The lecture had certainly been of exceptional interest.

The Chairman, in supporting the proposition, added that he had for long regarded the work done by Professor Garstang with great admiration. As to the present state of the site at Jericho, his criticism was one commonly made now but it, of course, had no reference to Professor Garstang's great work there. The Chairman then added his testimony to the interest of the lecture to which members had listened ; he certainly had been immensely impressed by the wonderful site at Mersin and hoped that Professor Garstang would be able to go down below the Neolithic level and achieve even more success in developing his work upon that most interesting and entrancing site.

The vote of thanks having been accorded amid hearty acclamation,

MR. A. M. HYAMSON proposed that the thanks of the meeting be accorded to the Bishop of Portsmouth for so kindly presiding and for his interesting address. Members looked forward to welcoming him and having the pleasure of listening to him again on some further occasion.

PROFESSOR GARSTANG, in seconding the proposition, thanked all present for their kind interest in and encouragement of his work at Cilicia and added that he certainly could not justifiably admit any responsibility for the present mess at Jericho nor did he construe the Chairman's remarks in that sense.

The vote of thanks was heartily accorded whereupon THE CHAIRMAN returned thanks and declared the proceedings at an end.

DISCOVERIES IN CILICIA

(LECTURE)

By J. Garstang, M.A., D.Sc., LL.D., F.S.A.

(*John Rankin Professor of the Methods and Practice of Archaeology in the University of Liverpool.*)

"The green tract of Cilicia is so shut in to the north by the Taurus ranges, and to the east by the Amanus mountains, and so exposed to the sea, that it seems as if Nature had designed this unique corner of Asia Minor for a history of its own."

These words, from my early book, *The Land of the Hittites*, were written just thirty years ago, and during all the intervening years I have never ceased to look forward to an opportunity of exploring in that area. It was therefore with peculiar interest and expectation that I was enabled, as leader of the Neilson Expedition, to undertake a preliminary exploration in that field three years ago.

Following up the indications of this preliminary work, during which we examined more than seventy sites, for the plain of Cilicia is peculiarly rich in vestiges of vanished civilizations, we have now devoted two whole winter seasons, 1937–8, to the excavation of an ancient mound which lies just inland from the port of Mersin. It is commonly known as Sôuk Su Hüyük, which means literally Cold Water Hill, but for our purpose we may call it Mersin Hüyük. It commands a narrowing pass between the Mediterranean and the range of Taurus, which hereabouts approaches nearer and nearer to the sea, forming a bottle-neck approach to the plains which lie eastward. At this point, in fact, the passage is five or six miles wide. Throughout all antiquity this mound has probably marked the site of a tribal boundary or frontier post. In the beginning it seems to have stood almost upon the sea, for the coast line has advanced southward. A perennial stream of fresh water from Taurus flows at its foot and there was always sufficient arable land to the north-east to provide sustenance for its population. Certain minerals, though not the common varieties, are found in the neighbouring parts of Taurus. Perhaps the most readily accessible were the silver mines of Bulghar Maden, though it is doubtful whether these were worked before the Hittite period. Another stimulating factor was the presence of a rich field of obsidian immediately to the north by way of the Cilician Gates, providing the material from which the local people in the Stone Age made their tools, and doubtless traded the lumps or cores of the same material both east and west.

The main trade route between the Troad and the East ran past the mound, and in the latter direction it was linked with Mesopotamia by way of Carchemish. So that both by land and sea the communications of the site favoured its early development ; while the shelter afforded by the Taurus range endowed it with a mild climate which was probably another factor in its early settlement. In any case, man took a fancy to this spot at a very remote period, and in more ways than one the site proves to be a " key position." In its origins it was the nursery of two successive prehistoric cultures hitherto unknown—the older one Neolithic but in some ways peculiar and reaching back to an unparalleled antiquity ; the second Chalcolithic with marked Mesopotamian contacts, but essentially local and distinctive. A subsequent transitional phase, not as yet defined, suggests some cultural relations with the West, in particular with Troy and Lesbos, in addition to possible contacts with certain Early Bronze Age sites upon the plateau, and may provide a link with more distant groups both East and West. Higher up, its relatively historic levels (2100–1500 B.C.) bear witness to a period of continuous occupation by people whose relationships extended to the Anatolian plateau and northern Syria ; and they were crowned ultimately by a purely Hittite fortress of the Early Imperial Age. The uppermost levels show traces of interrupted periods of settlement in Early Greek, Byzantine and mediaeval Arab times.

In the first season we explored seven building levels, of which the three lowest (V to VII) proved to be coeval in occupation with a finely preserved fortress wall of Hittite character datable to the Imperial Age, c. 1450 to 1200 B.C.

The level then reached was 19 metres above our zero datum in the stream and 6 metres below the summit.

During the second season nine further building levels were developed (VIII to XVI), and (except for a deeper sounding to the S.W. of the area) work ceased at 13.50 metres above datum. The fact that the Hittite fortress is to be preserved as a historic monument considerably narrowed down our area at the start, so that some of the upper building levels proved to be rather meagre. Happily, three building levels, IX, X and XI, extended to the brink of the mound. From these we recovered interesting plans and a useful corpus of archaeological materials, both pottery and bronzes, in particular one battle-axe bearing close resemblance to the well-known specimen from the Hittite capital. No buildings of the 3rd millennium B.C. were encountered ; but as we know from our earlier soundings that materials of those periods are to be found upon the site, the buildings probably exist and can be developed at will inside the limits of the Hittite fortress.

As work descended, the area was steadily increased by including the slope of the mound, so that in the lowest levels our full acreage was almost recovered. The remains of five successive building periods in the chalcolithic age of the fourth millennium B.C. were traced in the extended area between metre levels 17.40 and 14.30. The special feature at level XVI was a massive and solid gate-tower some 15 metres square joined centrally to a sector of a town wall with a mural bastion, and provided with an internal guard room.

Pottery of these phases was for the most part local and distinctive. In certain shapes and details, however, it discloses affinities with the culture of El Ubaid as illustrated by Mr. Mallowan's excavations at Arpachiyah ; while level XIII particularly was distinguished by the presence in large quantities of the Uruk grey wares, matching in colour and shape apparently a series of stone bowls, which though less common and more fragmentary were well represented. These grey wares were in fact so plentiful as to suggest that Mersin may have been a distributing centre of that class. The Uruk red slipped fabric, however, though present, was not common.

The uppermost level of this chalcolithic series (No. XII at metre level 17.50) was distinguished chiefly by its pottery, which comprised a number of attractive bowls and large chalices burnished black to warm black in tone and decorated with flowing white lines. Two vessels decorated in this way and belonging to the same age were discovered by Miss Lamb at Kusura, upon the plateau.

The most instructive remains were those from building level XVI, at metre level 13.50. This gave us a complete sector of a walled city which had been burnt, including both a defensive rampart, with a row of rooms abutting against it and a detached house within. The main rampart is pierced by a continuous range of narrow apertures, 20 × 50 cms., which traverse with parallel sides the full thickness of the wall. On the inside a row of uniform rooms abuts against the main wall, and in these the apertures appear like windows, regularly spaced, two to each room. They seem low, but they are placed at a convenient height for kneeling archers using bows about a metre long.

The continuous roof of the rooms would form a defensive platform, and supplies of home-made missiles suggest free use of the sling. The fact that these missiles were made of clay, albeit shaped and partly fired, and that they outnumbered the stock of selected river stones piled with them, suggests that the defenders of the walls had to withstand a siege and were driven to this expedient to supplement their ammunition. In the end the defence was apparently overwhelmed, the city was taken by assault, and the complete contents of its rooms lay buried beneath the debris of fallen walls and burning roof timbers. Though much damaged, the furniture of the rooms is found to have been more or less uniform, including a grain bin, grindstone and pounder, fireplace and cooking-pots, as well as a number of storage jars and smaller vessels decorated with painted designs. Each room, moreover, was fronted by an enclosed court, around which a series of post-holes indicate a verandah roofed with light materials. Thus these rooms against the main wall, though dedicated to the defensive necessities of the town, constituted small domestic units: they formed in all probability the married soldiers' quarters.

Turns in the main wall were covered by stout offsets, each sector of the masonry continuing straight; but at the western extremity, overlooking the river, where the angle would have been sharp, a main gateway intervened. This was protected by an extra-mural tower and a small internal guardroom. The protected passage was nearly 4 metres long, and the width of the doorway nearly 2 metres. Just within, by the side of a mural recess, was a stout mounting-block, the upper side of which was worn smooth with long use. The main wall on the west side was found to be denuded by erosion of the river, but in this quarter of the city there had stood a much larger detached building of domestic character presumably the residence of a chief. Its central feature was an open court, about 12 metres long and 4 metres broad, surrounded by good, strong walls. Within this enclosure was a large baking oven of familiar oriental character. On either side was a row of well-built rooms about 5 metres square, only one of which was rather narrower, more like a passage, and gave access by an outer door to an open space within the city, just opposite the watergate. The house plan thus shows a square block of rooms ranged on either side of a central court, and it is very like that of a detached house found at Tepe Gawra to the north of Nineveh by the American Expedition, in their Level XV which is dated like our Level XVI to a late Halafian period.

It seems clear from the evidence that the occupation of this city on Level XVI was contemporary in date with the developed culture of Tell Halaf. Not only was it found well down in our chalcolithic series, below the five building levels already mentioned, but it contained internal evidence of direct contact in a fragment of imported polychrome ware of Halafian technique found at its ground-floor level. This layer, including the debris of destruction, was a full metre deep, and it was relatively free from pits and other disturbing elements, so that the contents of the various rooms were found practically complete, though badly damaged by fire and breakage, and for the most part sealed down by the burnt roof materials. Under such circumstances the objects found in this level, especially everything from the floors, may be regarded as reliably stratified and characteristic of its period.

All the pottery fragments were collected, and by the close of the season the forms of fifty-two broken vessels had been recovered in our laboratory. Many, if not most, are new in style and shape. Even the kitchen pots, though plain, were freely burnished, the most attractive being finished with a shiny black or deep brown surface and furnished with elaborate handles of a distinctive kind.

The common variety of local painted ware was based in shape on a gourd with shortened neck and was decorated with linear patterns in matt black paint upon a burnished cream surface. Less common but equally characteristic was a series of trichrome vessels of various shapes on some of which the rosette appears as a central *motif* of the decorative scheme. This was partly carried out in accordance with local tradition in matt black upon the burnished cream surface, with the addition of broad enclosing bands, whether horizontal, circular or oval, of red or salmon-pink paint bordered with thick black lines.

Another series of jars shows a decoration of painted triangles, the interspaces being treated with jagged impressions. These spaces tend to be triangular or diamond shaped and the pottery surfaces are pink-buff in colour, unburnished, while the triangles are enclosed or filled with black or brown-black paint also matt. On some fragments—hence, perhaps, on all the vessels—this scheme is combined with triangles finished with burnished red, giving a trichrome effect to the whole. Another distinctive ware of the period is burnished black and decorated with fairly regular devices in whitened incised lines and treated with pointillé. Bowls of this class are furnished with a tab handle. In general the chalcolithic character of the deposits at this level was well illustrated by the finds in the detached house described above, including two copper axes of a simple kind, flint sickle blades, and numerous obsidian chippings, as well as the fragment of polychrome Tell-Halaf ware already mentioned.

Our Level XVI lies just above the half-way line in the excavation of this mound. There remains to be excavated, as tested by our soundings, a deposit no less than 13½ metres deep, representing older cultures. This year, in order to get more precise information as to the nature of these underlying deposits and the work which lies ahead, we carried down the western edge of the main area by terraces from level 14.00 metres, and it was a great satisfaction to the Expedition that Mr. and Mrs. Miles Burkitt were able to spend a month upon the spot in close supervision of this special piece of work.

Painted wares continued (in Terrace N.) down to about level 9.50 metres, a result which accords fairly well with our previous soundings. For various reasons, e.g. the use of brick for building, in addition to the prevalence of painted wares and the presence of small objects familiar in our chalcolithic series, we have agreed tentatively to regard the deposits of these four metres (13.50–9.50) as probably proto-chalcolithic in character rather than late neolithic.

Below metre 9.25 on Terrace N.—that is, below the painted pottery levels—down to the 4 metre level, Mr. Burkitt's report shows that he recognizes throughout a neolithic culture of peculiar character which may be divided into two phases with a dividing line at 7.5 metres. In both, worked obsidian tools, as well as black and brown burnished pottery, are the most characteristic features, and some of the implements illustrate a beautiful technique. Polished celts also occur. These conclusions, while giving authoritative precision to our observations of the previous year, bear out in general the results then obtained, so that the materials already published can now be classified accordingly. It is also worth recalling that our deepest soundings of the previous year had failed to bottom these deposits, though we reached the present water level, and a further three-metre depth of alluvium is to be anticipated. As the culture was found to be fully developed already at that depth (our zero datum), it is doubtful whether we shall be able to trace its primitive emergence from any older culture. Possibly, indeed, the people who first settled here came with their industrial habits already formed, and in this connection Mr. Burkitt's reference to a "post-palaeolithic culture" is significant. He is of opinion that the lowest levels we have reached must indicate a very remote date, as early in fact as 5500 B.C.

A MAP OF PALESTINE OF THE CRUSADES

By F. J. Salmon

(*Lecture at the P.E.F. rooms on 26th October*, 1938)

I should like to make it clear, first of all, that I am neither an archaeologist nor a historian, and that my part in the production of the map which I am going to speak about was the collection of the material from those who were competent to supply it, the organization and supervision of the compilation, drawing and reproduction, and a little personal work on the decoration.

The first historical map printed by the Palestine Department of Lands and Surveys was "Roman Palestine." This was designed and drawn by Mr. Avi Yona of the Department of Antiquities and we merely touched up the drawing and carried out the reproduction and printing. I can commend that map, and Mr. Avi Yona's descriptive article in the Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities, to those who are interested in the historical geography of the country between the first and fourth centuries A.D.

After this was published it occurred to me that a still wider public would be interested in a map of the country as it was known to the Crusaders, particularly if it was accompanied by a historical note similar to that attached to the Ordnance Survey's map of Medieval England.

Next to orange growing, the most important industry in Palestine is, or was, the catering for tourists, and I have found the interest of visitors to be as great, if not greater, in the geography of the Crusades than in that of the Old and New Testaments. First of all there are standing buildings and ruins to be seen, though of course not comparable to those in Syria. Then, so much has been written of the chivalry and romance of Crusading days, and so many of us, whether we know it or not, must have had ancestors who fought in the Holy Land.

Students of Biblical history have already been catered for by numerous publications, and, to my mind, the chief geographical interest of that period is in the physiography, which

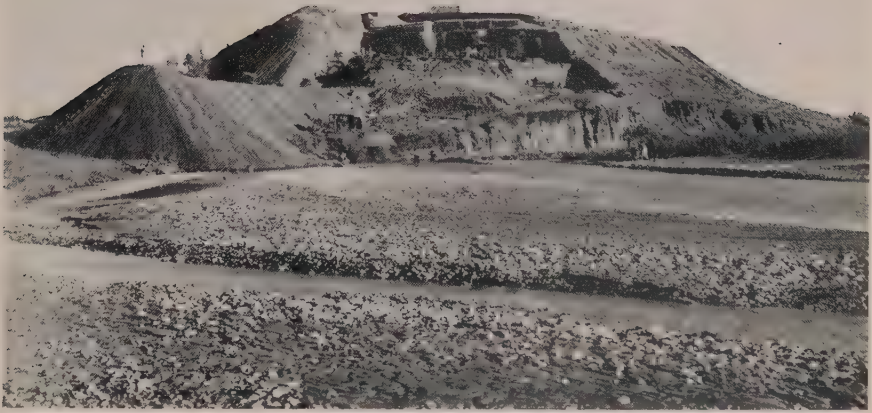


FIG. 1. THE MOUND AT MERSIN UNDER EXCAVATION, 1938. AT THE TOP A HITTITE FORTRESS OF 1400 B.C. LOWER, THE CLEARING OF A WALLED CITY OF 3600 B.C. R. A DEEPER TERRACE IN THE NEOLITHIC STRATA WHICH DESCENDS BELOW WATER LEVEL

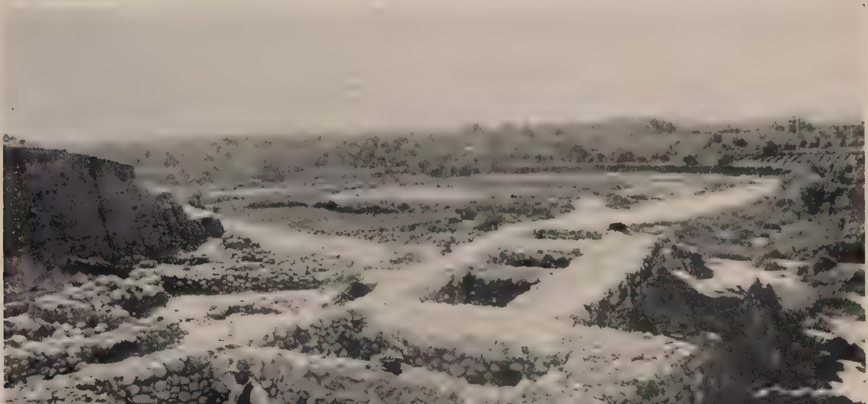


FIG. 2. REMAINS OF HITTITE FORTRESS WALLS ON LEVEL VII

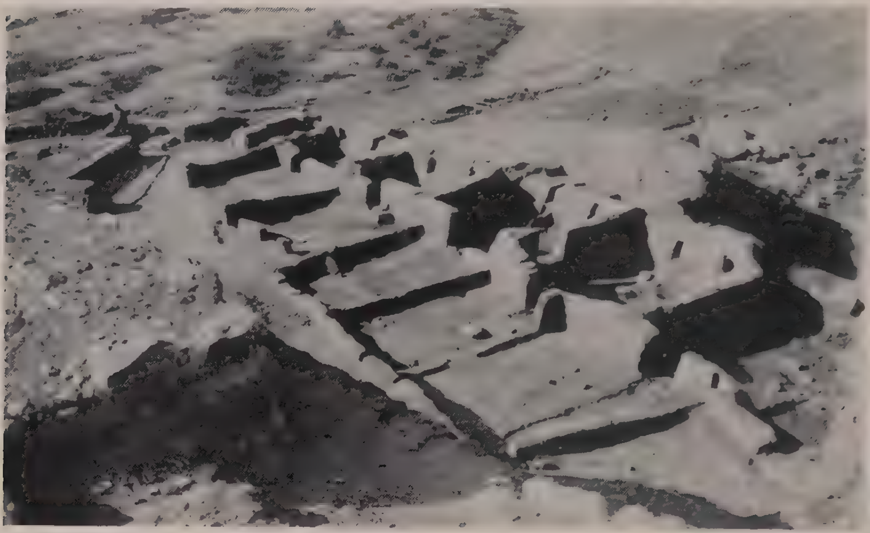


FIG. 1. FORTRESS WALL WITH APERTURES. LEVEL XVI

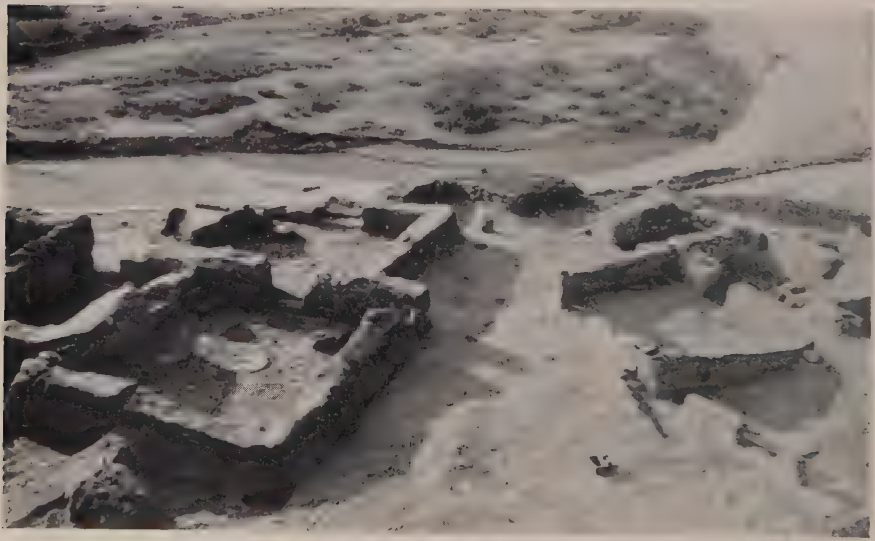


FIG. 2. MERSIN. WATER GATE AND MOUNTING BLOCK OF LEVEL XVI. L. REMAINS OF A DETACHED HOUSE RESEMBLING ONE ALSO OF HALAFIAN DATE FROM LEVEL XV AT TEPE GAWRA

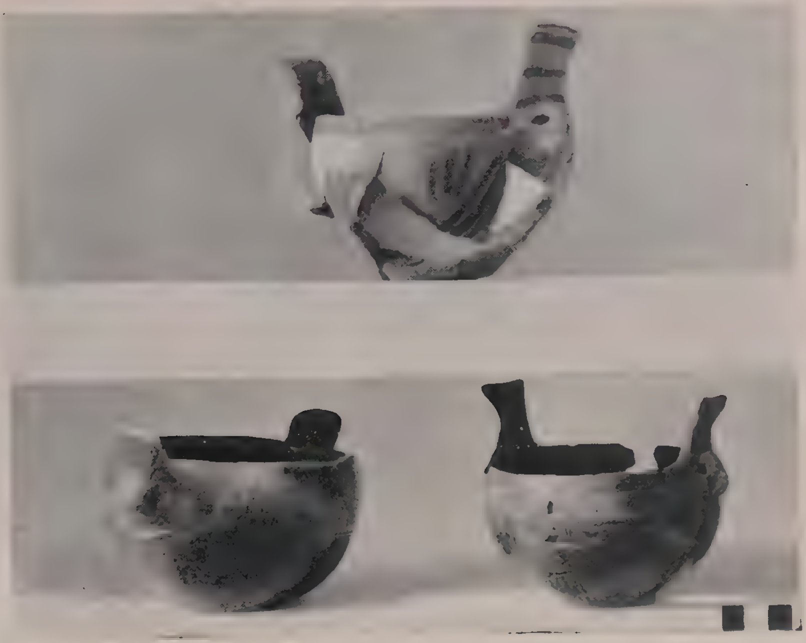


FIG. 1. MERSIN. CHALCOLITHIC POTTERY OF HALAFIAN PERIOD FROM LEVEL XVI

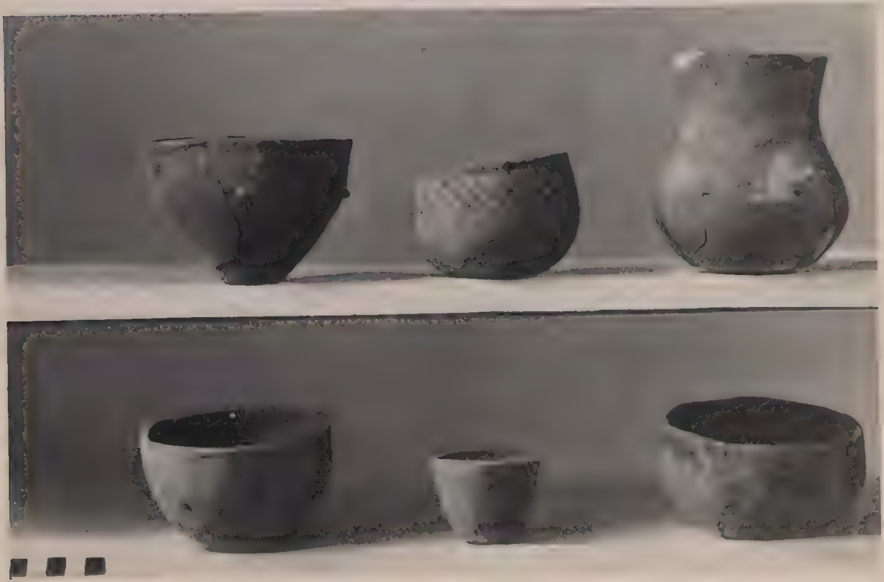


FIG. 2. MERSIN. EXAMPLES OF THE EARLIEST PAINTED WARES FROM THE XTH METRE

has been so incomparably dealt with by Adam Smith. Much has, however, been added in recent years to our knowledge of the geography of the Old Testament and I felt that my department was called upon to do something about this. The result was the map, "Palestine of the Old Testament," published last month, which no doubt many of you have seen.

The first thing to be decided about the Crusader map was the scale and the area to be covered. It is usually unwise for a surveyor to extend his cartographical activities beyond the boundaries of the area for which he is responsible but in this case it was clearly advisable to include Trans-Jordan as far as Amman, for there was already collaboration in the mapping of the two mandated territories. Mr. Johns's admirable historical note could not, however, confine itself to the southern area and so a small-scale inset was added. There was, unfortunately, not sufficient room to show the whole Crusaders' country in the inset, but it extends roughly to the boundaries of the Kingdom of Jerusalem.

The scale selected for the main map was the unusual one of 1/350,000, and though this was not quite large enough to show all the information that was available, it kept the size of the sheet within the limits which the reproduction branch of the department could deal with, without the expense of getting the photography done elsewhere, while it produced a map which could be comfortably handled in the field.

The place-names were first marked by Mr. Johns of the Department of Antiquities on the 1/100,000 sheets of the Palestine Survey. They were collected from the works of a number of authors in French, German and English and from lists of antiquity sites. These compilation sheets will form a very valuable record which can be added to as new information comes to light, and they show many names which have had to be omitted from the published map.

The scarcity of names in certain areas does not always mean that they were sparsely populated in Crusading times. It is often due to a lack of records. The local archives of the Templars, for instance, would add much to the map, if they were ever found.

It is, of course, not always possibly to identify sites mentioned in medieval documents, and some probable but not certain identifications have been included. From time to time new evidence comes to light. Forbelet, for instance, was until recently thought to have been south of Beisan, but Père Abel found a connection between the old Arabic name Afrabala and the present village of Tayibe, which led to his discovery of the ruins of the fortress there.

The compilation of this map has stimulated interest in the identification of Crusading sites. Notes and telephone messages suggesting alterations were continually coming in, and Mr. Johns's latest corrections and additions were put on the drawing while it was on the board being focused for photo-reproduction. It should, therefore, not be very long before another edition is required and for that reason we did not print too large an issue.

In the matter of roads I consulted Père Abel of the École Biblique et Archéologique. He, at first, advised showing no roads as in his opinion there were none worthy of the name, and people followed the most convenient of the innumerable tracks, according to the time of the year and the state of the country. However, in the end, we did show what we considered the principal routes, and most of these were traced by Père Abel from contemporary records of travellers and pilgrims of various nationalities.

Evidence of forest areas, where these no longer exist, has been taken from historical accounts, as in the case of Arsuf; from indications in the soil, as found between Hebron and Bethlehem; and from older maps, such as the P.E.F. series. There must have been a much greater resemblance between the Palestine of Kitchener and that of Crusaders, than there is between the country as we see it now, and as it is shown on the P.E.F. maps.

I decided that the decoration on this map, and, as far as possible, the lettering, should follow the style of the period. The pattern round the border, both on the map itself and on the cover, is taken from a piece of pottery found by Mr. Johns in the citadel at Jerusalem. Here is the original. (Plate XXIV, top picture.) There is an acanthus, a kind of knot, and something which may represent a cross, very much " fleury."

The pattern is in light buff on an electric blue background, the shine of which may be due to its long burial.

The pattern used on the border of the small map of the Kingdom of Jerusalem (Plate XXV, Fig. 4) was also suggested by Mr. Johns and is from a plate found in the ruins of Athlit. The three-lobed design here shown was commonly used in Assyrian and other ancient art to represent a hill. It appears on Byzantine tombs surmounted by a cross, and Mr. Johns suggests that in this form it signified " Mount Calvary." Some centuries later it became the device of the Kings of Hungary.

Another plate found at Athlit, which was not made use of, however, shows a pattern which suggests peacocks' feathers, while the shield in the middle may represent the arms of the Duke of Austria, now borne by the Hapsburgs, which appear on the south-east corner of the map—" Gules a fesse Argent."

The copy of Le Bruyn's seventeenth century picture, on the cover, is probably not unlike the Holy Sepulchre as the Crusaders saw it. (Plate XXIV, lower picture.)

The coats-of-arms are from a variety of sources. Those on the cover, copied from Col. King's " Knights Hospitallers in the Holy Land," belong to the families of the early Masters of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, but these Masters probably lived at too early a date to have borne them themselves. On the map itself the earliest is Coeur-de-Lion's. (Plate XXV, Fig. 1.) There is controversy as to whether he bore one lion rampant, not facing the usual way, or two face to face. We know that after his crusade he took the three lions " passant guardant " that still appear in the Royal Arms. De Neville's shield is from a tomb in Cyprus. Though it appears from the carving to have the diamond shaped pattern called " lozengy " it must really be meant to represent the diagonal crossing bars called " frettée."

His forebear was the admiral who brought William the Conqueror over to Britain. The coats of two knights bearing Palestinian names also come from Cyprus. Montgisard got his title from the ancient Gezer, and D'Ibelin from Yibna.

Since the map was drawn, D'Ibelin's tinctures have come to light in a medieval account. " Ses armes estoient d'or à une croiz de geules patée."

Among other coats collected for me in Cyprus was Thenouri's. Having understood that quartering of arms had started before the end of the Crusades I thought it would be interesting to include this one, but I have since found, on consulting

Jeffery, that the tomb-stone is dated 1363. The Lusignan lion is copied from a stone shield in the Jerusalem museum. The arms of D'Aubigny, the forebear of the English family of Daubeny, were taken from the carving outside the Holy Sepulchre. Brochard de Charpigny, whose tomb-stone was taken from Cyprus to Paris, appears to break the heraldic rule by having both the field and the charge of metal, but it is more likely that the mason picked over the field to bring out the charge of fusils, and not, as I had first thought, to indicate the tincture "or."

The most interesting of the arms round the map is, I think, De Guinecort's. He is the only Templar represented. His seal was found by Mr. Johns at Athlit. (Plate XXVI, Fig. 1.) Here are both a drawing and a photograph of the original and an impression in wax is on the table. The village of that name still exists in France.

The emblems of the Saracens, along the top and bottom of the map were obtained from Professor Mayer of the Hebrew University. (Plate XXV, Fig. 2.) Beybars's "lion," which I believe is really meant to be a leopard, is taken from the bridge which he built and which still exists on the road just North of Lydda. No authentic badge or emblem of the great Saladin is known but he is represented by the device which is carved over the doorway of his castle of Guindi in Sinai. We note that Nuradin bore a fleur-de-lys, a device very much older than European heraldry. Qarasunqur bore a pair of polo sticks, but without the balls which occur in the arms of other saracens.

Two single-masted ships in the sea are reconstructed from pieces of a plate found on the site of the town adjoining the Templar castle of Athlit by Mr. Johns. The missing parts of the ship were added by the late Mr. Laird Clewes of the South Kensington Museum. (Plate XXV, Fig. 3.) The two-masted ship is from a manuscript of William of Tyre's chronicle of the Crusades.

The crown on the top of the inset map of the Kingdom of Jerusalem (Plate XXV, Fig. 4) is from a thirteenth century picture of Frederick II.

The four shields round the inset, of which two are depicted in Fig. 4 show the arms of unknown Crusaders who cut them on the doors and tables of the monastery of St. Catherine's in Sinai.

Shields, banners and helmets in the decoration round the title of the map, three of which are shown on Plate XXV, Fig. 5, are from a variety of sources, and the three great Crusading Orders, the Hospitallers, the Teutonic Knights and the Templars are represented by their badges.

I have been unable to trace any authentic record of the shape of the Templars' Cross. A picture in a French encyclopaedia showed a Templar with a Cross nicked at the ends, like those so frequently cut by pilgrims at the Holy Sepulchre and at Bethlehem, while a rude emblem of this kind appears over the door of the Templars' stables at Athlit—and so I have chanced it at that!

A word about the lettering. The style of the title and the names on the coats-of-arms is copied from contemporary inscriptions which show much variation between the Roman and the Gothic. Owing to an insufficiency of good draughtsmen the names on the body of the map had to be typed and it is fortunate that one of the founts which I had already obtained for the department, Messrs. Stephenson and Blake's "Abbey Text," bears a close resemblance to much of the lettering of the period. Modern place names are in italics, and if, as far as can be traced from Arabic records, they were not used also in Crusading times, they are in brackets.

Names which were known to be used by the Saracens are therefore in italics *without* brackets.

It is often interesting to compare the modern with the medieval names.

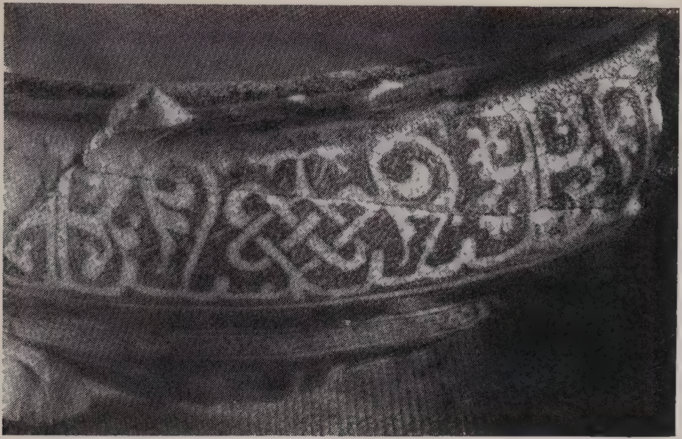
Beit Jibrin was known as Beit Gibelin, and mistaken for Beersheba by the Crusaders, who were also wrong about Petra Deserti, which they put at Kerak. At Petra, of course, they had their own castle of Sela on the rock El Habis. St. Abraham is now Hebron. Gezer they called Mont Gizard and Latrun was Le Toron des Chevaliers; a "toron" being a "tell" or artificial mound. There are also quaint distortions of Arabic names into Frankish and vice versa. The present Afule was El Fule to the Saracens and to the Crusaders, La Feve. St. Gilles is now Sinjil; Mont Didier, Madd ed Deir; and Baldwin's Tower is Burj El Badawil.

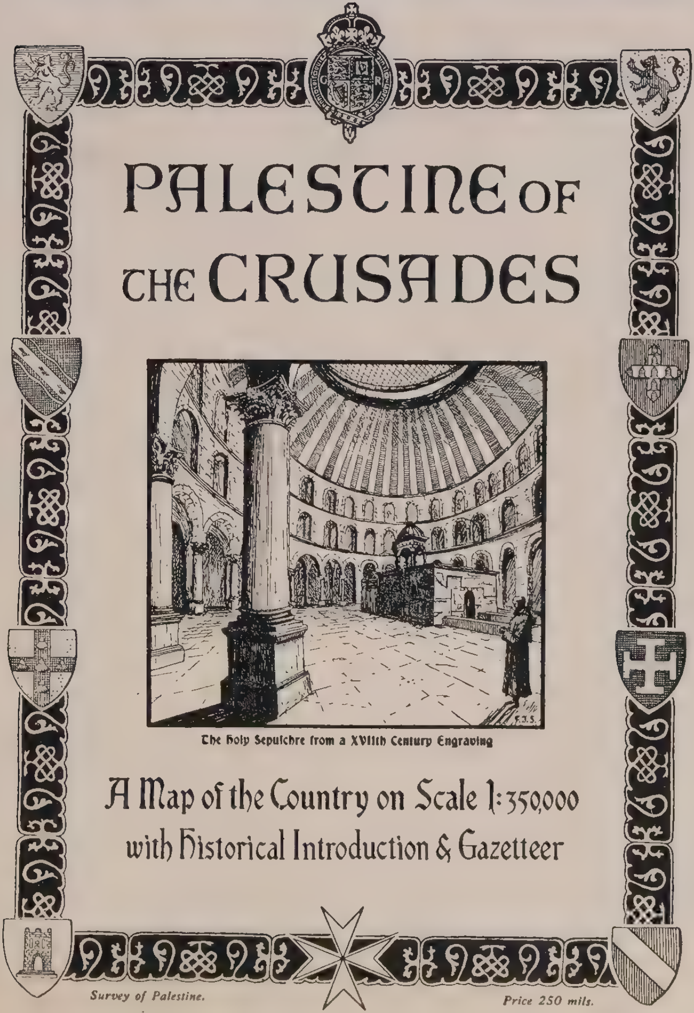
In the folded edition of the map, bound in with the historical note and gazetteer are small plans of Jerusalem and Acre as they were in the time of the Crusades.

Jerusalem was, with minor alterations, taken from the maps of Père Vincent and Père Abel. The plan of the town has really changed very little. In the " Rue aux Herbes " they still sell spices and vegetables. The " Rue Couverte " is still covered and there are traces of the Crusaders' street. The " Rue Malquisinat," where presumably there were cheap and nasty restaurants, has not changed its trade.

For Acre, I took the map of Marino Sanuto of 1307 and squeezed it as best I could to fit the correct position of the few known sites and the existing coast line. Acre was the most important centre and from there the pilgrims found their way to Jerusalem, sometimes through Nazareth and on by much the same route as the present main road from the north ; or, more frequently, along the coast to Jaffa and Lydda, and then by a variety of ways. Sometimes they approached the Holy City through Bab El Wad and Abu Ghosh, where the church of Fontenoid of the Hospitallers still exists, or more often by Beit Noble, the present Beit Nuba, La petite Mahomerie, which is now El Qubeiba, one of the sites claimed as Emmaus, and on through Mont-Joie, where the pious were shown the tomb of the prophet Samuel, and where the remains of the Abbey exist to this day under the mosque of Nebi Samuel.

And so, if, in our travels about Palestine, we take this map as a guide, we can follow Crusading history from Eliu (Aqaba) where Renaud de Chatillon launched his ships for his raids in the Red Sea, to Canebrake of Starlings and the Round Cistern, East of Gaza, where Richard Coeur-de-Lion attacked one of Saladin's caravans, up to Passe Poulin, the modern Ras En Naqura, or En Nawaqir of the Saracens, noting here and there the crossed swords of the battle-fields ; the feudal seigneuries, the routes painfully trudged over by thousands of pilgrims whose bones must still often lie not far beneath the ground. We can picture the castles crowning such summits as Qastal, Suba, and Tel Es Safi, we can imagine the clattering companies of knights and men-at-arms, even more unsuitably clad for the summer than were our red-coated soldiers in the Indian Mutiny, perhaps swaggering and bragging of their exploits,





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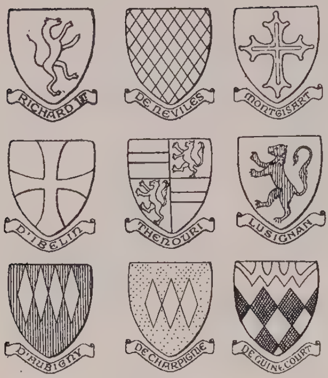
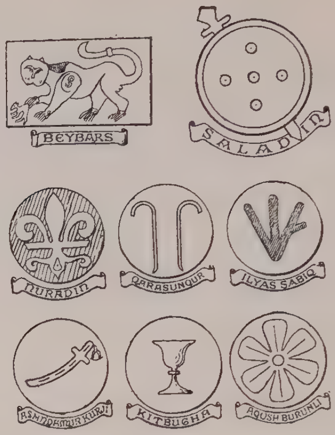

RICHARD IST
DE NEVILES
MONTGISART
D'IBELIN
THENOURI
LUSIGNAN
D'AUBIGNY
DE CHARPIGNE
DE GUINECOURT

FIG. I


BEYBARS
SALADIN
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QARASUNQUR
ILYAS SABIQ
ASNDAMIR KURJI
KITBUGHA
AQUSH BURUNLI

FIG. 2

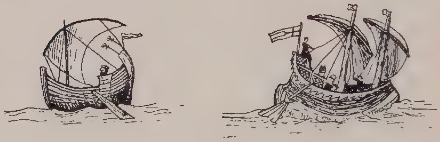

FIG. 3

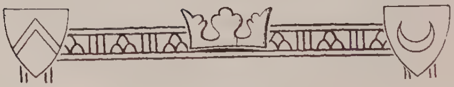

FIG. 4

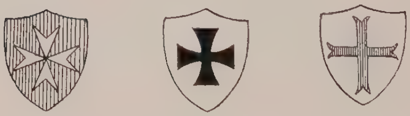

FIG. 5

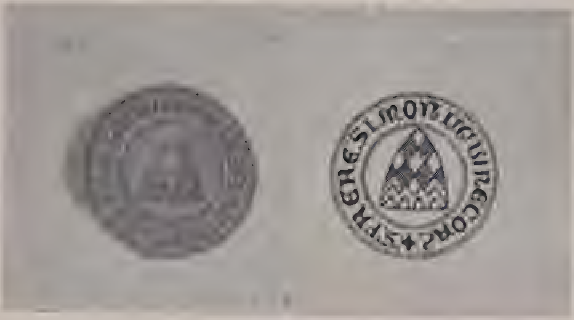
S FRERES LI POVRE CHEVALIER DE LA CORS

FIG. 1

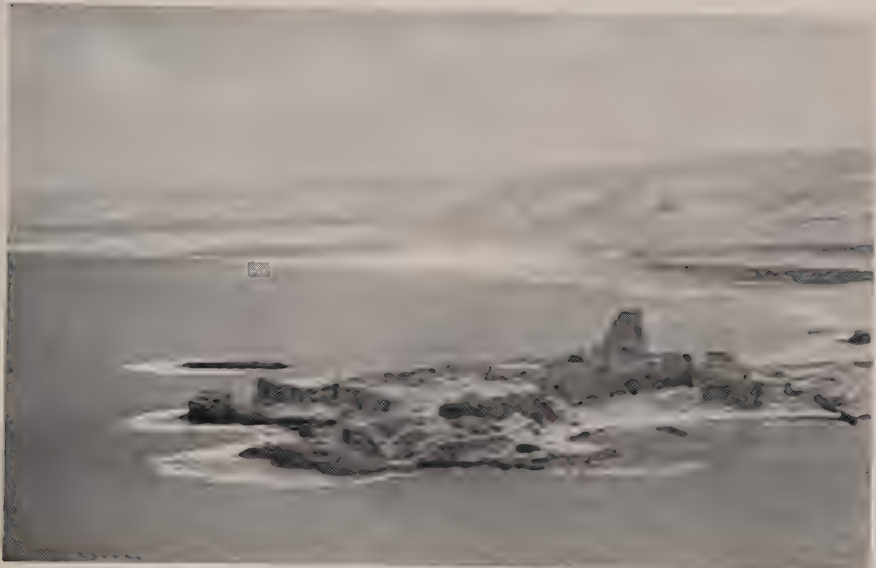

FIG. 2

THE PILGRIMS' CASTLE AT ATHLIT

(Royal Air Force Official. Crown Copyright reserved.)

or at Hattin, making their desperate stand, weakened by thirst, weighed down, on a torrid July day, by their burning armour; and hopelessly outnumbered.

It must be remembered, however, that during much of the period to which the map refers, all but the coast was held by the moslems. The Pilgrims' Castle at Athlit was then of great importance. The air-photograph (Plate XXVI, Fig. 2) shows only the ruins of the castle itself, but behind are the remains of a walled faubourg, extensive stables, a church, cemetery, the irrigation works in the adjoining crusaders' farms, and an outpost line including the rock-cut fort of Le Destroit.

Although almost destroyed by the Turks in the early nineteenth century, you may, after reading Mr. Johns's articles in *The Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine*, be able to reconstruct, in imagination, some of the buildings. It was here, marked Chastiau Pelerin on the map, that, shortly after the fall of Acre in 1291, the remains of the austere, bearded guard of Templars collected the last of the forces and administration of Christendom and bade farewell to Palestine of the Crusades.

CURRENCIES IN TRANSJORDAN

By A. S. Kirkbride

1. The following note classifies in a general manner approximately 5,000 ancient coins which were found in various parts of Transjordan between the years 1928 and 1937. The lists cover the collection of coins kept in the archaeological museum at Amman, a number of small private collections, and coins found in the course of archaeological exploration undertaken during that period.

The purpose of this note is not to give descriptive details or to draw attention to any specimens of special interest, but to endeavour to give some idea of what the everyday currency of Transjordan must have been during the different periods of its history. The only test for the inclusion of a coin in this catalogue was whether or not it was found in Transjordan, and it may be assumed therefore that the proportion of coins from any given mint or reign in these lists bears some relation, however approximate it may be, to the degree in which these coins were used in contemporary commerce. No attempt has been made to draw conclusions from the figures which, for the most part, speak for themselves.

2. The lists terminate with one of miscellaneous coins which have been included for the sake of completeness: it is not suggested that they represent types which were in general use. They afford attractive grounds for speculation as to what chance brought them to Transjordan.

3. It is natural that the bulk of the coins found should have been of bronze, both on account of the relative scarcity of the gold and silver at the time of their currency, and of the tendency of persons without numismatic interests to convert coins of the precious metals into ornaments for their personal adornment, or into bullion for their profit.

This practice persists to this day and thousands of English, and Turkish gold pounds have been melted down in Transjordan since 1920 and recirculated, duly alloyed, as jewelry, gold sword and dagger hilts and other decorations. Bracelets of Byzantine solidi and Arab dinars are common, frequently the coins are linked incongruously with scarabs of a much more remote period, also found locally.

4. The earliest coinage in this survey consists of the Alexandrine types, and a dozen silver pieces, mostly tetradrachmae and often in a perfect state of preservation, represent this period. The bronze coins from this era are few and uninteresting.

The ponderous bronze coins of the first Ptolemies bearing the club of the Tyrian mint are fairly common and appear to have been widely used. Two Ptolemy tetradrachmae minted in Citium are present.

The monies of the Seleucids with vivid portraits on the obverse come next. The following is a record of the finds of these issues :

Seleucus II	1	Demitrius II	13
Seleucus III	1	Antiochus VI	1
Antiochus III	4	Antiochus VII	6
Seleucus IV	4	Alexander II	1
Antiochus IV	5	Cleopatra	1
Demitrius I	9	Antiochus VIII	3
Alexander Bala	1	Antiochus XII	2

The dated bronze struck at Tyre for Demitrius II is the commonest type.

5. The later Seleucid coins were contemporary with the issues of (a) the autonomous Phoenician towns, (b) the Maccabees or Hasmonean dynasty, and (c) the kings of Nabatene.

The Phoenician coins in the collection are few, one each from Aradus, Beyrutus, Marathus and Sidon ; three from Ptolemais Acco and fourteen from Tyre.

The Hasmonean list includes one coin of Simon Maccabæus, seven of John Hyrcanus I, one of Judas Aristobulus and eleven of Alexander Jannæus.

The Nabatean series commence with thirty-six bronze coins of an unidentified king which were published in the *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*, October, 1937, p. 256.

Of the remainder, one hundred and forty-eight belong to Aretas IV and include one hitherto unpublished type of silver and several new types of bronze reverses. Forty-one were struck by Malichus II and thirty-two by Rabbel II.

Many of the new types of Nabatean bronze were obtained at Petra by means of what might be described as mass searches: after a heavy rainfall the women and children of the poverty stricken Arab tribe which lives in the ruins were turned out to look for coins and paid ten mils (about *2d.*) for whatever piece they brought in. Many of the finds were too corroded to be recognizable, others, however, amply rewarded the collector.

6. The coinage in circulation in Transjordan which bore the heads of the Roman Emperors included that emanating from the Imperial mints and the more interesting Provincial and Colonial issues which usually bore on the reverse objects of local piety or interest.

The following table classifies the coins of Imperial mintage according to reigns:

Augustus	3	Otacilia Severa	2
Tiberius	2	Philip II	17
Claudius	4	Trajan Decius	2
Nero	4	Trebonianus Gallus	2
Vespasianus	5	Valerianus	7
Domitianus	5	Gallienus	40
Nero	4	Salonina	3
Trajanus	17	Claudius Gothicus	15
Hadrianus	13	Aurelianus	11
Antoninus Pius	5	Severina	2
Faustina I	3	Vabalanthus	5
Marcus Aurelius	15	Tacitus	3
Lucius Verus	3	Probus	26
Commodus	7	Carus	6
Septimius Severus	6	Numerianus	9
Caracalla	4	Carinus	4
Macrinus	2	Diocletianus	36
Elagabalus	11	Maximianus Hercules	30
Alexander Severus	24	Constantius I	6
Julia Mammaea	4	Galerius Valerius Max.	21
Maximinus I	1	Fl. Valerius Severus	1
Gordianus Pius	4	Maximianus Daza	13
Philip I	1	Maxentius	1

Licinius I	26	Jovianus	1
Licinius II	13	Valentinianus I	21
Constantinus I	238	Valens	58
Fausta	1	Gratianus	4
Crispus	7	Valentinianus II	105
Constantinus II	48	Theodosius I	75
Constans I	38	Arcadius	128
Constantius II	272	Honorius	37
Constantius Gallus	9	Theodosius II	30
Julianus II	3	Marcian	3
Helena	1	Valentinianus III	2
		Leo I	7
		Zeno	1

The following is the mintage of those of the above coins which could be identified with certainty:

Alexandria	51	Londinium	2
Antioch	121	Lugdunum	2
Aquileia	6	Nicomedia	38
Arles	7	Rome	73
Constantinople	55	Siscia	7
Cyzicus	65	Thessalonica	27
Heraclea	13	Ticinium	4

Treves 3.

7. The Provincial and Colonial issues are shown below:

(a) *Arabia*

Bostra	36	from Antoninus Pius to Trajan Decius
Esbus	1	Elagabalus
Gerasa	25	of Hadrianus, Commodus Lucius Verus and Crispina.
Petra	7	of Hadrianus, Septimus Severus and Elagabalus.
Philadelphia	37	from Domitianus to Elagabalus.
Philippopolis	7	of Philip II.
Rabbamoba	1	of Septimius Severus.

(b) *Palestine*

Aelia Capitolina	7	of Marcus Aurelius, Elagabalus and Herennus Etruscus.
Ascalon	2	autonomous and Nero.

Caesarea	15	of Nero, Severus Alexander, Trebonianus Gallus.
Gaza	1	of Marcus Aurelius.
Neapolis	21	of Macrinus, Elagabalus and Severus Alexander.
Nysa Scythopolis	1	of Nero.
Sepphoris	4	of Trajanus and Caracalla.
Tiberias	4	of Claudius, Trajanus, Hadrianus.
The Procurators	12	
" Judea Capta "	4	of Domitianus.

(c) *Phoenicia*

Tyre	8	of Vespasianus, Caracalla, Elagabalus, Aquillia Severa, Gordianus III and Gallienus.

(d) *Syria*

Antioch	40	from Augustus to Trebonianus Gallus
Damascus	2	of Commodus .
Gaba	1	of Septimius Severus.
Gadda	1	of Domitianus.
Galatia	2	of Elagabalus.
Hieropolis	1	of Macrinus.
Leucas	1	of Septimius Severus.
Pella	1	of Lucilla.

(e) *Egypt*	24	from Claudius to Diocletianus.

(f) *Miscellaneous*

Carrhae	1	of Caracalla.
Edessa	3	of Caracalla.
Philippopolis in Thrace	2	of Domitianus.
Sagallassus	1	of Nero.

To this period belong also the Jewish issues of the Herodian dynasts and of the Jewish revolts.

Herod I	1
Herod Archelaus	2
Herod Agrippa I	11
Agrippa II	2
The first revolt	5
The second revolt	1

8. As is normally the case there were practically no silver coins of the Byzantine period discovered, gold was more frequently seen and was generally bought at an unduly high price by the local notables for inclusion in the jewelry of their womenfolk ; the large majority of the coins included in the following list are bronze :

Anastasius	56	Phocas	9
Justinus I	67	Heraclius	27
Justinianus I	64	Constans II	17
Justin II	181	Constantine VII	1
Tiberius II	20	Constantine IX	1
Maurice Tiberius	28	John I	1
Basil II	1		

The mintage of these coins which could be identified with certainty was :

Alexandria	20	Cyzicus	13
Antioch	54	Nicomedia	92
Constantinople	223	Rome	3
Thessalonica	18		

A small number of barbarous imitations of Byzantine bronze coins came to light as well as bronze coins of the type of Justin II and Constans II which were apparently struck in Syria during the early part of the Arab regime.

9. The early Ummayad coins which follow the type of Heraclius' bronze came from the following mints :

Amman	3
Baalbek	1
Damascus	10
Tiberias	1

There are five examples of a large follis struck in Egypt by Abdul Malik ibn Marwan whose name appears on the coin.

The regular Ummayad issues are as follows :

(a) dinars and dirhams :	Yazeed I	1	
	Al Waleed	1	
	Yazeed II	1	minted at Wasit.
	Hisham	2	minted at Wasit.
	Merwan II	2	

(b) fils :	No mint, no date	124
	Ascalon	3
	Aleppo	2
	Amman	14
	Baalbek	1
	Basra	1
	Damascus	20
	Herat	1
	Homs	1
	Ramleh	1
	Tiberias	25
	Urdon, al	5

10. The coins of the Abbaside Caliphate are dinars and dirhams of the following reigns :

Abu al Abbas Saffah	1
Abu Jaafar Mansur	16
Abu Abdullah al Mahdi	10
Abu Jaafar Harun al Rasheed	17
Abu Musa Mohamed al Ameen	2
Abu Jaafar Abdullah al Mamun	3
Abu al Abbas Ahmed al Mustaeen	2
Abu al Abbas Ahmed al Mutamid	4
Abu al Abbas Ahmed al Mutadid	3
Abu Mohamed Ali al Muktafi	4
Abu al Fadl Jaafar al Muqtadir	21

The mintage in so far as it was identifiable was :

Ahwaz	1	Medinet al Salam	33
Aleppo	1	Medinet Zirinj	1
Basra	2	Mecca	3
Damascus	3	Mohamadieh	2
Harran	1	Phalisteen	2
Kerman	1	Raij	1
Kufa	2	Shash	1
Yemama	1		

11. The few coins of the Fatimids were all gold values and struck in Egypt

The reigns are :

Al Zahir	1
Al Mustansir	2

Al Amir	6
Al Muntazar	1
Al Hafiz	2
Al Zafir	1
Al Faiz	1
Al Adid	3

12. The Ayyubid coins were all of Syrian mintage, principally Damascus. The reigns are :

Salah el Deen	10
Al Adel I	17
Al Kamel	16
Al Adel II	14
Al Salih	7
Al Zahir Ghazi	4
Al Aziz Mahmud	4
Al Nasir Yusef	7
Al Saleh Ismail	11

13. Similarly the coins of the Bahri Mamluks are all struck in Syria and the majority in Damascus. The reigns are :

Al Zahir Beybars	13
Said Baraka Khan	1
Al Mansur Kalaun	5
Al Ashraf Khalil	1
Al Nasir Mohamed	22
Al Saleh Ismail	74
Al Muzaffar Haji	1
Al Nasir Hassan	34

With two exceptions, which came from Egypt, the following coins of the Burji Mamluks were minted in Damascus :

Al Zahir Barquq	19
Al Nasir Faraj	2
Al Ashraf Bars Bey	1
Al Aziz Yusef	25
Al Zahir Jaqmaq	4
Al Ashraf Inal	1
Al Zahir Khoshkadam	9
Al Ashraf Qait Bey	3
Al Nasir Mohamed	4
Kansuh al Ghuri	2

14. The majority of the Ottoman coins referred to in the following list came from the same trove of gold coins as the Venetian ducats shown in paragraph 15 of this note.

Mohamed I	3	Ahmed III	2
Saleem I	8	Mahmud I	2
Suleiman I	376	Mustapha III	2
Saleem II	100	Abdul Hameed I	6
Murad III	110	Saleem III	1
Mustapha I	2	Mustapha IV	6

As far as it could be identified the mintage of these coins was :

Amasieh	1	Jazair	19
Amid	11	Khanja	3
Aleppo	57	Novabarda	1
Baghdad	1	Quganieh	1
Brusa	5	Sakarna	1
Constantinople	89	Sidra Qaysi	53
Damascus	44	Siruz	7
Egypt (Misr)	179	Tabriz	2

15. The majority of the Venetian coins are ducats found in the Jebel Ajlun in 1936 in a single trove, but both gold and silver Venetian money were found from time to time in the northern part of Trans-Jordan including some silver gilt ducats which are apparently contemporary forgeries.

The names of the Doges appearing on the coins are :

Andrea Dandolo	2	Francesco Dona	89
Andrea Contarini	1	Marcantonio Trevisan	16
Michell Steno	1	Francesco Venier	43
Francesco Foscari	2	Lorenzo Prioli	59
Pasquali Maliperio	2	Girolamo Prioli	110
Augustino Barbarigo	2	Pietro Loredan	29
Leonardo Loredan	5	Alviso Mocenigo	119
Andrea Gritti	27	Sebastiano Venier	3
Pietro Lando	9	Nicolo del Ponte	20

16. The miscellaneous list includes the following items :

(i) a tetradrachma of Lysimakos struck in Thrace.
(ii) a drachma of Artabanus I of Parthia.
(iii) a bronze coin of Hermaeus of Bactria.

(iv) a bronze coin of the Seljuks of Rum.
(v) a bronze coin of the Urtukids of Mardin.
(vi) a base silver piece of the Caliphate of Abdulla in the Sudan.
(vii) two silver Sassanian pieces of Chrosroes.

There were six silver coins of the early Athenian type, apparently of eastern origin, one of which bore ל incuse on the obverse.

It is interesting that the only crusader coins in the collection are eight deniers of Baldwin IV and a bronze coin of Tancred, Prince of Antioch, 1104–1112 A.D.

AN IMPORTED POT FROM CYPRUS

By J. R. Stewart

The jar which forms the subject of this note was found in November, 1937, by an expedition sponsored by the British School of Archaeology at Athens, during excavations in the Early Bronze Age Cemetery at Vounous,[1] near Bellapais, in the Kyrenia District (North Coast). It was found in a grave on Site A,[2] the earliest portion of the cemetery, and bears the registration number: Tomb 164B, No. 9.

The grave, which formed a chamber opening from the left side of the dromos in a double chamber complex,[3] contained two bodies, one at the back and one in the centre of the tomb. The jar in question belonged to the funerary equipment of the corpse in the centre. It is probable that a contemporary double burial is to be postulated, but in any case the interments are indistinguishable on Ceramic grounds. The group is not earlier than Early Cypriot Ic,[4] nor are any of the pot shapes later than E.C. IIa, while the lack of certain classes favours a date slightly anterior to that of the burials in Chamber A, which in turn is probably to be attributed to E.C. Ic, but rather earlier than Vrysi Tou Baba (Lapithos) 303a.

The importance of the pot lies in the possibility of obtaining with its aid an approximate period for the transition from E.C. Ic to E.C. IIa, a transition of great cultural importance

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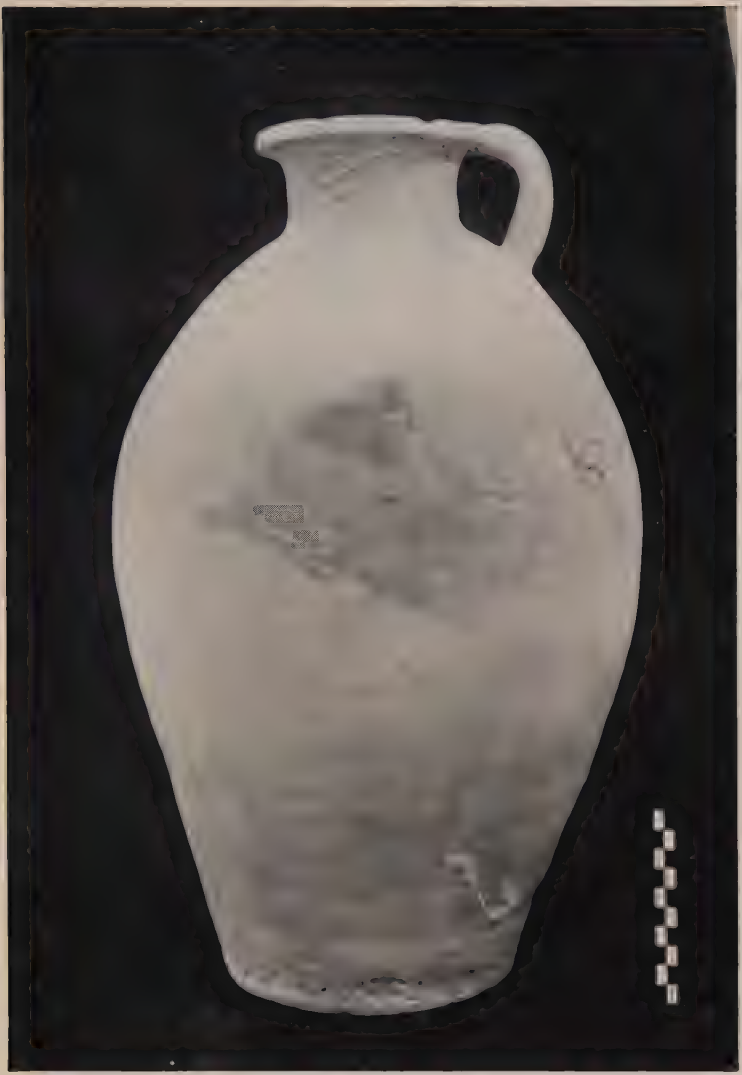
[1] For earlier excavations at this site see *Syria XIII*, 345 pp., Schaeffer, *Missions en Chypre*, 26 ff. and sundry articles in the *Illustrated London News* beginning with 31st October, 1931, and 5th December, 1931.

[2] The north side of the hill which saw the activities of Dr. Dikaeos and Dr. Schaeffer has been named Site B, Site A being reserved for the area some five hundred yards S.E. of Site B, on the east flank of the hill, which was the chief scene of the labours of the 1937 expedition.

[3] *Cf.* Swedish Cyprus Expedition. Vol. 1, page 77, No. 4. Vrysi Tou Baba (Lapithos) Tomb 311, but in this case the second chamber opens from the right of the Dromos.

[4] In view of the Vounous evidence Dr. Sjoqvist has agreed that the Vrysi Tou Baba graves attributed to E.C. Ia and b should now be placed late in E.C. Ic.



in the history of Cypriot ceramics. Further, it is at present the earliest imported pot found in Cyprus. At the time of discovery the excavator suggested that the provenance of the jug was Palestine, a view with which Dr. C. S. Fisher was inclined to agree when he first saw the find.

Dr. Fisher has kindly supplied the following note on the type:

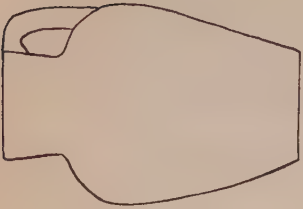
Fig. 1. Jug from Vounous. Tomb 164B. No. 9. Classification number JGN (jug with neck). 3114 (that is, body 3, base 1, neck 1 and rim 4).

Slightly asymmetric. Hand made. Fabric buff ware fairly well levigated but with occasional tiny white grits. Firing buff for the most part, but pale red in spots on surface. Slip smoothed by hand, although there are faint traces of the use of a stick or other implement, both horizontally and vertically on sides. The bottom was made first as a disk and the groove across it suggests the character of the bed on which it was laid. The sides built up with pats of clay rather roughly fitted together and not well smoothed inside. The handle is simple and one easily fashioned by hand.

Height 46.2 centimetres. Maximum width 28.2 centimetres.

The body form is one very common in EB (i.e., before 2000 B.C.) and the neck is also found on early types. In fact the body form originated in our Ghassulian period before 3000 B.C., but the neck occurs early in EB. (see tracings enclosed). The fabric is known at Gezer early in EB. The handle presents a difficulty.

Fig. 2. The handles I *illustrate* are all early, but there is not an exact counterpart to your jug. However we have not found all the possible examples and so we may consider the early dating as quite possible. On your jug the lower attachment of the handle is weak and is not well welded into the body, but on the specimen " a " the same method is used, the handle running straight into the shoulder without being splayed out. Taking all the evidence I still feel that your jug can well be between 2800 and 2600 B.C.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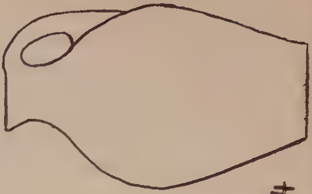
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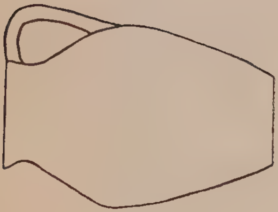
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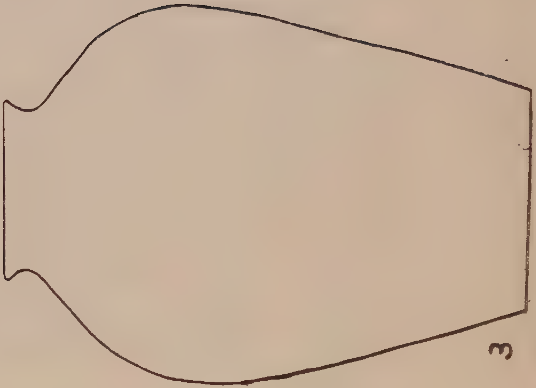
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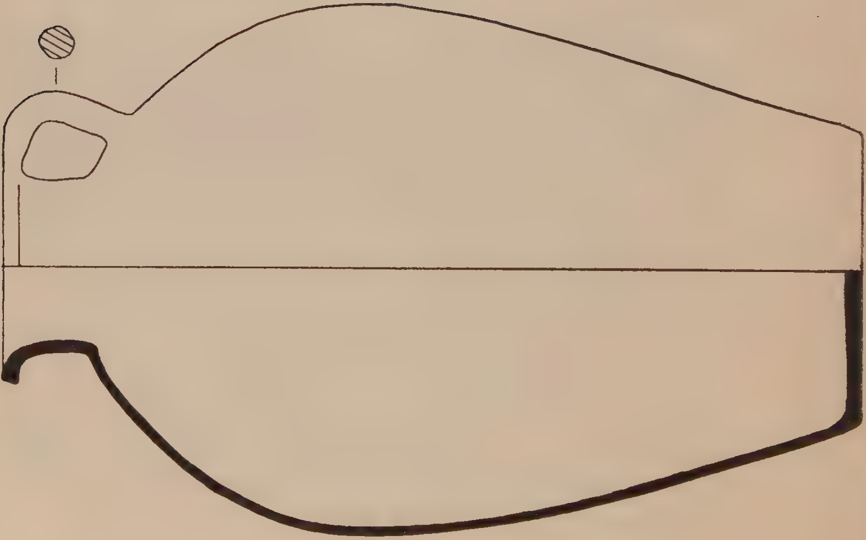

1. GEZER, BEFORE 2000 B.C. MACALISTER, GEZER II, P. 138, AND PLATE 143 : 16.
2. GEZER, BEFORE 2000 B.C. YELLOWISH WARE, POLISHED RED SLIP. MACALISTER, GEZER I, P. 91, AND PLATE 20 : 10.
3. GEZER BEFORE 2000 B.C. REDDISH DRAB, FINE FLINT GRITS. MACALISTER, GEZER II, P. 138, AND PLATE 142 : 22.
4. JERICHO, ABOUT 2000 B.C. OR SLIGHTLY EARLIER. DULL YELLOWISH BROWN SURFACE ON DRAB FABRIC. GARSTANG, JERICHO, PLATE V : 5.

SCALE : 1 AND 2, $\frac{1}{5}$. 3 AND 4, NOT INDICATED.

Mr. Lankester Harding suggests a close relationship with the M.B. I types[1] of Jericho, Tell el Ajjul, Tell ed Duweir and Tell Beit Mirsim, rather than with the shapes illustrated by Dr. Fisher. But for the handle and the rather high situation of the bulge,[2] the resemblance to some of the Duweir types is most convincing, especially in the matters of the rim shape and base attachment. However the clay and ring of the vases are different, and our specimen cannot be derived from that neighbourhood, while Tell el Ajjul is eliminated on account of the rougher workmanship evinced there. Albright[3] dates this class of pottery at Ajjul to the twenty-first century B.C., and at Duweir to about the twentieth century B.C.

This approximate dating is too late for our jug. It is more applicable to the transition from E.C. III[4] to Middle Cypriot I, and these centuries would see the introduction of the white painted wares and the decline of the monochrome pottery. In 164B not only are there no painted pots but also the red polished ware stands towards the end of the E.C. I series as represented at Vounous, and contains none of the characteristic E.C. IIb–IIIc shapes. As the pot is not an intrusive object, the date of the grave must go hand in hand with that of the jug, so that should the connection with the M.B. I of Palestine be accepted, this phase of the E.B. in Cyprus must be taken from its present position and placed at the end of the period, continuing into the opening years of Middle Cypriot. This requires the co-existence of a well defined culture with a peculiar ceramic and decorative repertoire with the more highly developed, rather stereotyped series made so familiar by Professor Myres, Max Ohnefalsch Richter, Cesnola, Gjerstad, Dikaeos and others, and that each culture has avoided contact with the other. But at Vounous, by combining the two sites, an almost perfect series of graves is obtained to as late as M.C. I, and while no certain E.C. III, and only one E.C. II a grave occurred on Site A, on Site B the series commenced in E.C. IIa, almost exactly where the last grave on Site A left off. Again, if Vounous was the sole example of this so-called E.C. I culture, it might be difficult to reject such a theory, but at Vrysi Tou Baba (Lapithos) the groups which Sjoqvist has placed at the beginning of his series fit into the Vounous series late in E.C. Ic, and at Lapithos the series continues further into Middle Cypriot than at Vounous, and is much richer from late E.C. III onwards. Moreover typical E.C. I pottery has been found near Karmi (N. Coast), Rizokarpasso, at Arpera (Larnaca district, not published by Gjerstad in *Studies in Prehistoric Cyprus*), near Erimi (Limassol District), and probably at Anogira (Limassol District), and Vasilia (Kyrenia District), so that while rare it is fairly evenly distributed. Now if this culture co-existed with E.C. III it should occur on such great sites as those at Alambra, Tamassos, Dhenia, Ay Paraskevi and Kathydata, where it is in fact entirely absent. Thus the relative chronology in Cyprus seems to be secure apart from Gjerstad's stratigraphic basis. This being so it seems impossible to accept the comparison, and even if the pot be referred to a position in the earlier Caliciform series in Syria (for which the only possible analogies appear to be Mishrife Tomb 4 (*Syria XI*, pl. XXXII, left hand column, bottom), and Dnebi Tomb 1 (opp. cit. column 5, top), the twenty-fourth century B.C. limit suggested by Albright[1] seems too low to accommodate the mass of material in Cyprus, where internal evidence would support a date rather before the middle of the third millennium B.C.; and as the pot is not Cypriot, Cretan, Helladic, Cycladic, Egyptian or Cilician, elimination points to Syria or Palestine as its source of origin.

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[1] Annual, *American Schools of Oriental Research*, XIII, 62 ff. and pl. 2 ; XIII, 15 ff. for Tell Beit Mirsim and discussion. Also Albright in *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society XV*, 219 ff. 231 ff. and Wright in *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, 71. For Tell Ajjul see *Ancient Gaza I*, ss. 14–6, II 6–9, and relevant plates. Jericho, Sellin and Watzinger 108–9, figs. 94–7.

[2] Our pot lacks the combing usually evident on Palestinian specimens, and the neck is also more vertical than is usually the case. On the other hand it has the characteristic surface nuances.

[3] *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research, XVII*, 16 footnote.

[4] Gjerstad's E.C. III and M.C. Chronology is established beyond doubt by his stratigraphical studies and tomb series, while E.C. II relies more upon the latter. Owing to lack of material at the time his E.C. I has now had to be modified. E.C. III was probably established at the latest by the end of the twenty-third century B.C.

The writer would tentatively suggest a connection between the rim shape and certain examples from Beisan Level XIII.[1] Dr. Sjoqvist and the writer are inclined to believe that the rim and neck of our jug was wheel made, inserted into a hand made body. This feature of construction can be paralleled as early as Beisan XV.[2] An horizon about Beisan XIII (approximately the date suggested by Dr. Fisher) would suit the Cypriot data well, as it is possible that the same general movement which brought Khirbet Kerak ware to Palestine introduced the changes in the Early Cypriot series which eventually led to E.C. III; and the grave group to which this jug belongs stands on the threshold of the change.

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[1] Albright, *op. cit.*, page 15, paragraph 23.

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[1] Fitzgerald, *Museum Journal*, 1935, Vol. XXIV, Number 1, plate IV, especially figs. 9 and 10. The resemblance is more marked in the case of a number of unpublished examples, for access to which and permission to quote I am most grateful to Mr. Fitzgerald. It should be noted that at Beisan these rim types belong to storage jars, and are therefore heavier than in the case of the jug.

[2] Fitzgerald, *op. cit.*, page 10.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES

Samaria-Sebaste. Reports of the work of the Joint Expedition in 1931–3 and of the British Expedition in 1935. No. 2. *Early Ivories from Samaria.* By J. W. Crowfoot and Grace M. Crowfoot, 1938.

There are some spots, which because they are known to be sites of fame and importance in the past, draw the excavator willy-nilly to explore them. Samaria, once the capital of the northern Hebrew kingdom and later a flourishing city under Herod, is one of these, and has been for some time an object of attention. An expedition from Harvard University worked there from 1908 to 1910, but the site proved difficult and the results not altogether encouraging. In 1931–3 a mixed brigade representing five British and American institutions, among them the P.E.F. and the British School at Jerusalem resumed the task under the command of Mr. Crowfoot; and in 1935 it planted its standard there again; but this time its component elements had shrunk to three and were all British—the P.E.F., the British School and the British Academy. Some architectural remains were found; but they were outweighed by the discovery of a rubbish pit of the Hellenistic period containing some two hundred brittle fragments of ivory, carved in a uniform style. Their exhumation is sufficient witness to the skill and care of Mr. Crowfoot. A few fragments had indeed been found by the Harvard expedition at another spot, but they were little in comparison. Nevertheless, it is a pity that they were not reproduced again in this work for convenience. These ivories are of a type known elsewhere, belong to the ninth and eighth century B.C. and are recognized as Phoenician. No one could reasonably dispute the likelihood that here were fragments of the famous ivory house or palace built by the luxurious Ahab and his Phoenician queen, perhaps even ornaments of his throne. Remains which can be safely associated with the Hebrew kings are rare enough to make this discovery noteworthy. But the ivories are further precious by exposing both the influence of Phoenician art and religion in Israelite life,[1] not less than by the welcome new illustration they afford of the religion and iconography of that little-known people, the Phoenicians.

These points are well brought out in Mr. and Mrs. Crowfoot's truly excellent publication, on which all concerned are to be congratulated. It is admirably produced; the illustrations very good indeed (with exception only of reproduction of a flat and disappointing painting on pl. I, 1); the text is brief, careful, extremely well-informed, and sound sense.

Discussing the typically Phoenician style of these objects, the authors rightly point out its complete freedom from Assyrian influence on the one hand, and its total subservience to Egyptian art on the other. That association with Egypt was age-old, and due not to mere politics but to the dictates of geography. A wall of forest and mountain lay behind the Phoenician coastal strip, barring it from the East, but uniting it by sea and land with the Delta. Mr. and Mrs. Crowfoot, however, see in the Egyptian invasions of Shishak the special and immediate inspiration of these features in Phoenician art. It was, they say, "the art of the twenty-first dynasty and not the older art of Egypt and Crete and Mesopotamia which is reflected in the ivories." It is true that subjects or cases do not occur in the Samaria ivories which show indebtedness to Cretan or Mesopotamian influences. But it must be carefully noted that this is not the case in Phoenician ivories and Phoenician art in general. The cow and calf motif, the clasped hands, the goats or sphinxes about a tree, and other subjects can be derived from either Crete or Mesopotamia and can be followed back in Phoenician art and in Phoenician ivories from other sites, to a date earlier than the twenty-first dynasty, at least to the Amarna age. It must therefore be due just to the chances of discovery that examples of Cretan or Mesopotamian influences did not occur at Samaria. Again, it does not seem very probable that the source of the Egyptian influences in the Samaria ivories is exclusively that of the contemporary Egypt, as this would also be exception to the facts as observed in the case of the Phoenician ivories as a whole. Further, certain forms of technical treatment suggest relationship with metal work cloisonné of XVIIIth dynasty Egypt.[1] So, too, Appendix 2 appears to show that glass pieces from Samaria (and some of those from Nimrud), which have been subjected to chemical examination, were coloured with cobalt, a process else known only in Egyptian glass of the XVIIIth dynasty. In short it is rather hard, on Mr. and Mrs. Crowfoot's present evidence, to see in what the influences of the XXIst dynasty consist.[2]

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[1] The authors rebuke me for having ignored this aspect of the art in *Iraq*, 1935. I have, I hope, made some amends in *P.E.Q.*, 1939, p. 17.

Whatever interpretation we are to put on it, the present collection where it contains anything not previously noticed in Phoenician art, will be found to carry still further the same story of Egyptian influence. Certain motifs which are commonplaces in Egypt, yet are new or rare in Phoenician art, make their *début* here : the presentation of the *ujat* (pl. XIII, 13) ; the set animal (pl. XIII, 11) ; the swimming fish (pl. XIII, 3)—and less common, the *ujat* with the body of a vulture. Finally in the field of technique we meet a system in which the glass or other insets are sunk flush with the flat surface of ivory, in other words, resembling the metal work techniques of damascening or niello. (Pl. XIV.) This again, by the way certainly has a pedigree going back at least to the Amarna age, for it is made famous by the daggers and a cup from Mycenae.

The same geographic causes which drove the Phoenicians across the sea to Egypt, sped them just as easily to Greece. They brought not alone their wares, but their writing and ideas, which the Greeks eagerly absorbed. A revolution in the whole of Greek art took place during the seventh century in which Oriental arts and crafts—and especially Phoenician—were keenly studied. Hitherto these Phoenician models have been more often postulated by savants than revealed by excavation. Some of the present pieces help to fill this gap. The comparison of the palm trees (fig. 5) with the late Rhodian geometric kantharos on fig. 6 is very striking. But whereas this palm tree is a rare and unimportant feature in Greek art, the lotus and bud pattern or palmette and buds of pls. XIV, XV, are the very opposite. Students of Rhodian and other Early Greek Orientalizing styles will recognize them with excitement.

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[1] See *P.E.Q.*, 1939, p. 17.

[2] The excavations now in progress of royal tombs of the XXIInd dynasty at Tanis will perhaps throw some light on whether Mr. and Mrs. Crowfoot's interesting suggestion is correct. At present our knowledge of Egyptian art of the XXIst and XXIInd dynasties is very meagre.

To sum up, all will regret that the material is so fragmentary. But the marvel is that it is there at all. For this the expedition is to be thanked. Our knowledge of the past is made up from its sweepings and rubbish-pits. We could do with more of them.

I append some criticisms and corrections of points which, however, do not materially detract from the value of the book.

P. 14 and pl. II. The object under the Hah's elbow, whatever it represents is not a *SA* sign.

P. 18. I am most sceptical of the identification of cherubim whether in Temple or Tabernacle, with the figures of Isis and Nephthys. The latter are major deities ; the cherubim are most certainly never more than minor protective genii. It is most unlikely that figures of major deities would have been thought fit to represent these lesser creatures. What little evidence there is seems to me to show that the cherubim are really represented by female sphinxes like those on pl. V. See *P.E.Q.*, 1939, 17.

P. 25 and pl. X, 6. From analogies at Nimrud, etc., it is probable that the horse is part of a chariot scene.

P. 27, pl. XII, 7, is the head of a lion, not a sphinx.

16–17. The two Phrygian caps appear to be of sphinxes rather like those *Iraq*, 1935, 190, fig. 3. The position of the grain of the ivory, which is invariably in my experience horizontal or vertical to the axis of the design, confirm this, suggesting the hats should be turned round to an angle similar to those from Nimrud referred to.

P. 42, fig. 14d. This mysterious and unusual pattern is surely a representation of the sacred frontlet of the goddess Ashtart ; see *Iraq*, 1935, 203, 204, and note[2] *ib.*

P. 46. But *pace* the authors, discoveries at Dura-Europus, referred to *loc. cit.*, and p. 117 ff. say nothing at all to suggest that crescent and disc form the emblem of Hadad ! They suggest they might perhaps represent Atargatis as the moon, possibly with Hadad.

Appendix I on the origin of the ivory. I find it very difficult to recognize an elephant in the cult object from Beisan (*Mus. Journ.*, 1928, 155), while the elephant on the seal also mentioned there seems to me quite invisible, unless to the eye of faith. Nor is the seal Hittite. The figure of an African elephant occurs, it is true, on the Jehu stela, included in the gifts of Muṣri ; but since this might as equally well mean Egypt, as the same-named region of North Mesopotamia, it does not add much to our information.

P. 55. The experts' conviction that these ivories can be positively recognized as African is important if true. Capt. Guy Dollman, however, of the British Museum (Nat. Hist.) writing to me about those from Nimrud, which he thinks Indian, informs me that " the determination cannot be regarded as exact, since it is almost impossible to tell even fresh ivory unless extensive sections are cut in various portions of the tusk."

Certain innovations in spelling names, e.g. Tall-al-Yahudi for Tall-al-Yahudiyah, Tall Fari'a for Tall Far'a may perhaps have justification. Tukultu-Urta for Tukulti Enurta has not.

R. D. BARNETT.

Vallentine's Jewish Encyclopaedia. Edited by A. M. Hyamson and Dr. A. M. Silbermann. London, Shapiro, Vallentine and Co., 1938.

It is impossible to review an encyclopaedia, in the ordinary sense of the term, since such a task would require encyclopaedic knowledge. Even to deal competently with an encyclopaedia whose scope is restricted, as the editors of the volume under consideration point out in the preface, to topics of Jewish interest, and to persons of Jewish birth, would require a knowledge of Semitic languages, of the history of the ancient Near East since the beginning of the second millennium B.C., of the archaeology of the ancient Near East, of mediaeval history and philosophy, and the list might be continued *ad lib.* For what other people is there the tendrils of whose history are so closely interwoven with the fate of the Western world ?

Hence, and never more so than now, such a book as this compact, exact, erudite, and comprehensive dictionary of Judaism, should be in constant demand. The fate of the Jews is one of the most important questions of the modern world, and it may well prove that the fate of the modern world is mysteriously bound up with the fate of this strange and tragic people. To all thoughtful persons the things which are happening to the Jews must provoke many questions, and this book is the only one of its kind which offers in so many varied ways an answer to these questions. The list of the contributors is a sufficient guarantee of the scholarship and wide knowledge here placed at the disposal of the enquirer. Moreover, the editors possess that practical knowledge of Jewish problems, and intimate acquaintance with the intricacies of Jewish literature, necessary to make this modern edition of Vallentine's Encyclopaedia, what it is in truth, *a Shulchan Aruch* and a *More Nebuchim*, " a table spread," and " a guide to the perplexed."

S.H.H.

Hesperides. A History of the Culture and Use of Citrus Fruits. By S. Tolkowsky, with 113 plates, 10 figures in text and 5 statistical tables, pp. xx+371. (John Bale, Sons & Curnow. 21*s*. net.)

Mr. Tolkowsky has for long been engaged on this work to which he has devoted a remarkable amount of research. No research work can, of course, be exhaustive, but there can be little in literature, ancient or modern, European or Oriental, that he has overlooked and not ransacked for his purpose. The extent of his bibliography—twenty-eight pages—shows how thorough he has been. And the index to his work is almost as thorough—nineteen pages. The book is, moreover, bountifully as well as beautifully illustrated, and makes a volume that is at the same time handsome, interesting, and instructive. It is in fact an illustrated encyclopaedia of the citrus fruit, for Mr. Tolkowsky, not limiting himself to history, proceeds to economics and even to the culinary art. The origin of the orange and of the citron Mr. Tolkowsky traces to China, although the word orange is derived from the Arabic. The lemon he considers is either Chinese or Indian in its origin, although the name comes from Malaya. Other citrus fruit, including the grapefruit, came from Malaya. But they have been acclimatized around the Mediterranean for fifteen hundred years and more, and in Africa and America for centuries. Originally citrus fruits had only a ritual or medicinal use. The citron still has its place in Jewish ritual. Gradually it became an article of food—a great luxury at first—ultimately almost the necessity of the common people.

A.M.H.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE DEPARTMENT OF LANDS AND SURVEYS OF PALESTINE FOR 1937

By the courtesy of the Department of Lands and Surveys we have received the annual report of that department for 1937. But, if we may look a gift horse in the mouth, it may be permissible to note that this report appears a year late; it was, in fact, not printed until February, 1939, although it deals with 1937.

The report contains an account of much good work carried out in spite of adverse conditions. It is mentioned that land settlement field work and the hearing of cases were impeded, during the year, by the unsettled state of the country; but it was intended to accelerate the settlement, and two additional officers were to be appointed during 1938.

As to surveys, the total strength of that section of the department was 217. Some 200 kilometres of precise levelling had been executed during the year. Four sheets of the map on the scale of 1:100,000 had been issued in 1937; but since then, during 1938, other sheets have been published, so that we may now look upon the whole series of fourteen sheets as complete, or practically so. This is a fine piece of work, of which any department might be proud. The sheets are clear, well printed in colours, and are of a handy size. They form an excellent up-to-date map of Palestine, west of the Jordan, stretching northward from Beersheba and Qurnub to the Syrian frontier.

It may be added that the department publishes a useful list of its maps, with explanations and index diagrams, for the price of 50 mils, or 1*s*.

C.F.A.-C.

The Committee have to acknowledge with thanks the following:

The Antiquaries Journal, XIX, 2, April, 1939. Review of J. W. Crowfoot, Churches at Bosra and Samaria.
The Expository Times, April–June, 1939. Recent Biblical Archaeology, by J. W. Jack (June).
Great Britain and the East, April–June, 1939.
The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, LIX, 1, March, 1939.
Religions, April, 1939.
The Scottish Geographical Magazine, 55, 2–3. Problems of Palestine, by K. H. Huggins.
The New Judaea, April, 1939.
American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures, LVI, 2. Moses and the Levites, by T. H. Meek.

Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, 73. A Re-examination of the Lachish Letters, by W. F. Albright.

Geographical Review, April, 1939.

The Jewish Quarterly Review, XXIX, 4, April, 1939.

Journal of the American Oriental Society, 59, 1, March, 1939. The Deity Bethel and the Old Testament, by J. P. Hyatt.

Journal Asiatique, CCXXX, January–March, 1938.

Nouvelle Revue Théologique, April–May, 1939.

Revue Biblique, April, 1939. Les Ostraka de Lachis, by R. de Vaux : Les fouilles de Tell ed-Duweir (Lachis), by L.-H. Vincent.

Syria, XX, 1. Les Fouilles de Mari, Cinquième campagne, by A. Parrot.

Orientalistische Literaturzeitung, April–May, 1939. Notes on Ras Shamra Texts—IV, by T. H. Gaster.

Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, Bd. 15, 3–4. La Palestine et la Transjordanie au IIe millénaire et les origines israelites, by R. de Vaux. The Yahu Coin, by S. A. Cook.

Biblica, 20, 2. Le lettre di Lachis, by A. Vaccari.

ΝΕΑ ΣΙΩΝ, February–March, 1939.

Bible Lands, April, 1939.

Al-Mashriq, October–December, 1938.

The 67th Annual Report of the Anglo-Jewish Association, 1939.

The Annual of the British School at Athens, No. XXXVI.

The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, LXVIII, 1938.

The Cuneiform Texts of Ras Shamra-Ugarit, by C. F. A. Schaeffer. The Schweich Lectures for 1936.

Oriental Assembly, by T. E. Lawrence (review in Oct. issue).

Petra, the Rock City of Edom, by M. A. Murray.

THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND

NOTES AND NEWS

BARELY twenty years after the close of the war which was to end war this country is again at war, fighting side by side with the same ally against the same enemy. Once again those energies which were wont to be devoted to the pursuits of peace have been violently and suddenly diverted from their normal course and gathered up into one tremendous and united effort to end the reign of terror in Europe. Not many of the friends of the Fund will be living normal lives in these days. Those studies and researches which it is the purpose of the Fund to promote and record will be quiescent until the issue is decided. But it seems well that now, as in the period from 1914 to 1918, the lamp should be kept burning, if only as a witness to our faith that the things which cannot be shaken will remain, and that the peaceful pursuit of truth will be resumed in days to come when this trouble is overpast.

The QUARTERLY, then, will continue to appear, although reduced in size, and the editor will appreciate any help which the friends of the Fund may be able to furnish in the way of material for publication. It is obvious that work in the field will cease, but the Committee will go forward with the publication of the remaining volumes of *Samaria*, and a certain amount of material is still in hand and will serve to keep the QUARTERLY going for the present.

The offices of the Fund at 2 Hinde Street are closed, and the business of the Fund will be carried on from Mr. Ovenden's house, "Branksome," Keswick Road, Fetcham, near Leatherhead, Surrey, where all correspondence relating to the Fund, the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, and the QUARTERLY should be addressed. The Library at Hinde Street can be consulted by arrangement with the Assistant Secretary.

One welcome result of the present crisis has been a marked amelioration in the relations between the Jews and the Arabs. However much both parties have made Great Britain the target of abuse and recriminations in the past, both recognize alike what the protagonists in the struggle stand for, and both know well that their only hope of freedom, justice, and the good life, lies in the triumph of the cause for which Britain and France are fighting. Hence they are laying aside their differences and preparing to help the Allies to the utmost of their power. We cannot pierce the veil which hides the future, nor can we divine what new order may emerge when the fight is over and the smoke of battle lifts, but in this union of Jew and Arab in the struggle for a new order the foundation may well be laid for a just and lasting settlement of their problems.

It seems probable that the excavations which MM. Montet and Drioton have been carrying out on the site of the ancient Tanis may prove to be of great historical importance. In the view of the explorers it is possible that the site may contain a series of tombs of the 21st and 22nd dynasties, covering a period from 1090 B.C. to 745 B.C., that is, the period of Hebrew history from the death of Solomon to the beginning of the reign of Jotham. Nothing could be of greater interest from the point of view of Old Testament history than any fresh light from external sources on this period. It is significant that the first tomb to be discovered contained the mummy of the Pharaoh Shishak, who invaded Judah and spoiled Jerusalem in the reign of Rehoboam. Further results of this excavation will be awaited with interest.

In the current number of the BASOR Professor Albright again attacks the ever-recurring problem of the date of the fall of Jericho and of the Israelite conquest of Canaan. He examines the views of Professor Noth, which he subjects to a searching and well-founded criticism, and passes in review the present position of the archaeological evidence. His conclusion may be given in his own words : " In view of the foregoing considerations, which can easily be extended and supplemented, there is no doubt that the burden of proof is now entirely on those scholars who still wish to place the main phase of the Israelite conquest of Palestine before the thirteenth century B.C." The scholars referred to will probably speak for themselves in a time to come when such things may once again occupy our attention, and it is to be hoped that Professor Albright himself will before long deal comprehensively with the whole problem of Israelite settlement in, and conquest of, Palestine, beginning with Abraham and coming down to the subjugation of the Philistines. Burney's Schweich Lectures were a very valuable pioneer effort in this direction, but the aspect of the problem has radically altered since then, with the vast increase in the archaeological material available, and nothing is so much needed in the field of Old Testament studies as a complete and thorough re-examination of the subject in all its bearings.

Mr. Mallowan's recent excavations at Brak, an ancient city of northern Mesopotamia, have yielded one peculiar feature which has an interest for students of the history of religion and folklore. In the course of excavating a temple he discovered a vast number of " magic eyes " among the debris, which prompted him to give the building the romantic name of " The Temple of the Thousand Eyes." It seems most probable that these objects were amulets, intended to ward off the evil eye. Whether any underlying connection may exist between the well-known Egyptian magical symbol of the Horus-eye, and these apotropaic amulets from Mesopotamia, is too large a question to be discussed here, but Babylonian exorcism tablets bear abundant witness to the great antiquity of the belief in the evil eye. Apotropaic amulets of various types are of common occurrence in all Palestinian excavations, and although there is no explicit mention of the evil eye in the Old Testament, there are not a few passages in which the evil effect of the look of hatred or envy is referred to indirectly, for example, we are told that " Saul *eyed* David from that day forth."

Sir Leonard Woolley's excavations at Atchana, the ancient Alalakh, during the last three years have been fruitful in results, and when the cuneiform material has been studied it will probably throw much new light on the history of the intricate political situation in Syria and Palestine in the middle of the 2nd millennium B.C. Most striking were the discoveries made on the site of the thrice rebuilt temple, the scene of the final activities of the third year's work. Here was found a mass of Hittite sculpture, including two magnificent lion-statues, of the type found at Boghaz-khöi, a basalt altar, a lion-footed throne, and a white limestone statue of a sacred person, king or god, covered with about fifty lines of cuneiform script. Sir Leonard Woolley is of the opinion that these sculptures may go back to the fifteenth century B.C., an unexpectedly early date for examples of Hittite stone carving.

Sir Leonard Woolley has said that the chief motive for undertaking the excavation of Atchana was the hope of securing proof of connection between Minoan Crete and the Asiatic mainland. There can be little doubt that the evidence so far secured has established that connection beyond dispute. But it may be added that the evidence from Ras Shamra had already gone far to settle that point. It was to be expected that some link between Alalakh and Ugarit might be discovered in the course of the excavation, and such a link has been established in the name of the king Niq-me-pa whose palace was excavated in the spring of 1938. This name is believed to be the same as that of a king whose name has been found in the colophon of one of the Ras Shamra tablets, where it was read as Niq-me-ad. It will be interesting to see if any examples of the alphabetic cuneiform script characteristic of Ras Shamra should be discovered at Alalakh.

EARLY CHRISTIAN GRAVESTONE-FORMULAE OF SOUTHERN PALESTINE

By G. E. Kirk

The Roman-Byzantine towns of the desert south of Beersheba (the Negeb) have been made more generally known by *The Wilderness of Zin* by Sir Leonard Woolley and Colonel T. E. Lawrence (*P.E.F. Annual*, 1914–15 ; reprinted 1936). Much better preserved than most contemporary sites in Palestine proper, they have produced a large number of Greek inscriptions, many of them gravestones of the Early Christian period. I have notes of over 200 unpublished gravestones which I am studying for the Colt Archaeological Institute (director, Mr. H. Dunscombe Colt), and hope to publish in the near future.

In the introduction to the inscriptions of Auja Hafir in the Institute's publication of this site, which is shortly to appear, I have divided the gravestones into four classes, two of which have very brief inscriptions or no inscriptions at all, and do not concern us here. The other two classes have longer inscriptions which, like those on modern gravestones, use a limited number of conventional formulae. These were not Christian inventions, but went back to pagan times. I have collected the statistics for the geographical and chronological distribution of the formulae, including in my survey the funerary inscriptions of Gaza, the city nearest to the desert towns, and a group from Southern Transjordan for purposes of comparison. The results show that there is a striking variation in the use of different formulae in neighbouring towns, for example between Sbaita, Auja Hafir, and Khalasa, which are only a day's journey, on foot or by camel, distant from one another. I believe that this variation is due to the varying elements in the population of the towns or to different cultural influences on them, and the first of these factors is likely to be more important in such a matter as gravestone-formulae where convention and tradition are likely to be strong. Recorded evidence for the history of the towns is scanty, but a study of the personal names in the inscriptions has suggested that two social groups can be distinguished: (1) Persons settled here by imperial or ecclesiastical authority, accompanied by craftsmen, shopkeepers, etc. (probably mainly from Palestine proper), and their descendants; the personal names in this group are typically Christian; (2) Arabs, descended from the local Bedouin (Saracens, as contemporary writers called them), who had been attracted to the towns and became Christians, but tended to keep their traditional pagan Arab names. The first of these two groups figures more prominently on the more elaborate gravestones which use the conventional formulae. I suggest that the settlers at the time of the great expansion of the towns, which may tentatively be dated to the fourth and early fifth centuries A.D., brought the formulae with them. If so, the diversity of the formulae would indicate that they came from several distinct cultural centres. It is not at present possible to say where these centres were; I can only demonstrate the diversity as a starting-point for future research.

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Inscriptions now at El Arish, not known where found: R. Tonneau, *Revue Biblique*, XXXVI (1927), 93 ff. Alt, *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, VIII (1928), 195 ff. SEG, VIII. 1, 302–305.

Ghor es Safi: Alt, *P.E.F.Q.S.*, 1924, 191. id., Pjb., XXVII (1931) 50, n. 1; XXVIII (1932), 97 f. L. H. Vincent, *Revue Biblique*, XXXIV (1925), 476 f. F.-M. Abel, ibid., XL (1931), 95. SEG, VIII. 1, 331–335.

Fainan: Alt, ZDPV, LVIII (1935) (reprinted as "Aus der Araba," II–IV), 64 ff. SEG, VIII. 1, 339–343.

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In the following table the formulae are listed, numerically and as percentages, against the number of reasonably complete gravestones in their place of origin. Some inscriptions contain two epitaphs, and some epitaphs use more than one formula, so that the sum of percentages for one town is sometimes greater than 100.

THE FORMULAE

ΠΑΥΩ covers the formulae ἀνεπάη (variously spelt), Χριστὲ (Κύριε) ἀνάπαυσον, ἀναπαυόμενος, ἀναπαείς, παυσάμενος. The sense is "rest from troubles," and the group of formulae was probably Egyptian in origin; it is found at Jerusalem, but is rare in Syria.[1] It is common at Gaza, Beersheba, and the towns to the south, with the striking exception of Auja Hafir; absent at Kerak and Kh. Ader. There are forty-one dated examples, which fall between A.D. 450 and 679. All but six of these fall between A.D. 510 and 613.

ΤΙΘΗΜΙ covers κατετέθη (often with ἐνθάδε or ἐνταῦθα), σῆμα καταθέσεως, θήκη. It occurs with twice the average frequency at Gaza and Sbaita, and is absent at Khalasa and Ruhaiba, in the inscriptions now at El Arish, and at Kerak and Kh. Ader. It was perhaps diffused from Gaza. There are thirty dated examples, which fall between A.D. 464 and 643. Of these twenty are later than A.D. 580. The formula was very popular at Sbaita A.D. 581–643.

ΚΕΙΜΑΙ covers ἐνθάδε (or ἐνταῦθα) (κατα) κεῖται. These forms are common in Egypt, and appear also in the Jewish cemetery of second–fourth century A.D. at Beth Shearim in Galilee.[1] They appear in every inscription at Kerak and Kh. Ader,[2] and are not uncommon in the cities Gaza and Beersheba, but are absent at Auja Hafir and in the inscriptions now at El Arish. Their absence in the El Arish group, which so favours the Egyptian ΠΑΥѠ, and their commonness in the two Transjordan towns, suggest that the latter did not receive them immediately from Egypt. There are twelve dated examples, which fall between A.D. 450 and 661. Of these, seven fall between A.D. 541 and 588.

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[1] Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches in Palestine*, II (1896), 408 f., No. 10. Alt, Pjb., XXVIII (1932), 100. P. Thomsen, ZDPV, XLIV (1921), 150.

ЄΤЄΛЄΥΤΗΣЄΝ is remarkably common at Auja Hafir, and rare or absent elsewhere. There are seven dated examples between A.D. 541 and 592, followed by one in A.D. 624. An inscription of A.D. 614 at Sbaita has ἐτέλεσεν τὸν δρόμον, " ended his course."

ΜΝΗΜΑ (Memory, memorial) :
μνημῖον : Ghor es Safi, twice (A.D. 387–388, one Christian, one doubtful.
Auja Hafir, three (all between 27th October and 4th November, A.D. 541).
μνῆμα : Beersheba once, Auja Hafir once.
μνήμη : Sbaita once, Auja Hafir once.

These words are common in both pre-Christian and Christian inscriptions in Syria, in the Greek-Jewish funerary inscriptions of Palestine, and on Christian gravestones at Jerusalem.[3]

θάρσει, οὐδεὶς ἀθάνατος, (Courage, no one is immortal) : This formula was used by pagans, Jews, and Christians equally (M. Simon, *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, CXIII (1936), 188 ff). Beth Shearim has θάρσει nine times and οὐδεὶς ἀθάνατος once. It occurs on twelve gravestones at

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[1] G. Lefebvre, *Recueil des Inscriptions grecques-chrétiennes d'Egypte* (1907). XXXI. M. Schwabe, *Bulletin of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society*, v, (1937), 82.

[2] A newly published inscription from Dat Ras in Southern Transjordan (Abel, *Revue Biblique*, XLVII (1938), 559 f.) begins with ἐνθάδε κῖται and is to be closely associated with the Kerak-Kh. Ader group.

[3] *American Arch. Exp. Syria*, III ; *Princeton Arch. Exp. Syria*, III ; S. Klein, *Jüdisch-Palästinisches Corpus Inscriptionum* (1920) ; *Beth Shearim*, loc. cit. ; Thomsen, loc. cit.

Khalasa, two of them of the year A.D. 426–427. In none of them is it associated with characteristically Christian names, or with the Cross, and seems to be entirely pre-Christian on this site. It is found in an inscription at Beersheba which is perhaps pre-Christian, and in the two inscriptions of A.D. 387 and 388 from Ghor es Safi, one of which is Christian, the other doubtful.

θάρσι ἐν Χριστῷ (Courage in Christ), Ruhaiba once.

θαρροῦσα (With courage), Beersheba once (Christian).

ἐκοιμήθη (fell asleep), common in Egypt[1]: Ruhaiba once, Auja Hafir once. Beersheba and ZDPV, XLVI (1923), 63 No. 16 (=SEG, VII, 1, 295) have κοιμηθείς.

The Towns

Gaza, a large and cosmopolitan city, conforms closely to the average, except in her preference for ΤΙΘΗΜΙ.

Beersheba, an important centre where cultural influences met and were blended,[2] conforms closely to the average without local preference.

Khalasa, a large town and bishopric,[3] prefers the Egyptian ΠΑΥΩ and avoids the Gazan (?) ΤΙΘΗΜΙ.

Ruhaiba shows the same tendencies as her greater neighbour Khalasa.

Sbaita prefers the Gazan (?) ΤΙΘΗΜΙ.

Auja Hafir has a strong preference for ΕΤΕΛΕΥΤΗΣΕΝ, rare or absent elsewhere, and avoids the Transjordan ΚΕΙΜΑΙ and the Egyptian ΠΑΥΩ. Egyptian influence is however found in the inscriptions here.[4] Note the commonness of ΜΝΗΜΑ forms (12 per cent.).

The inscriptions of unknown origin now at El Arish have the Egyptian ΠΑΥΩ exclusively.

Kerak and Kh. Ader: Every inscription begins with ἐνθάδε κεῖται.

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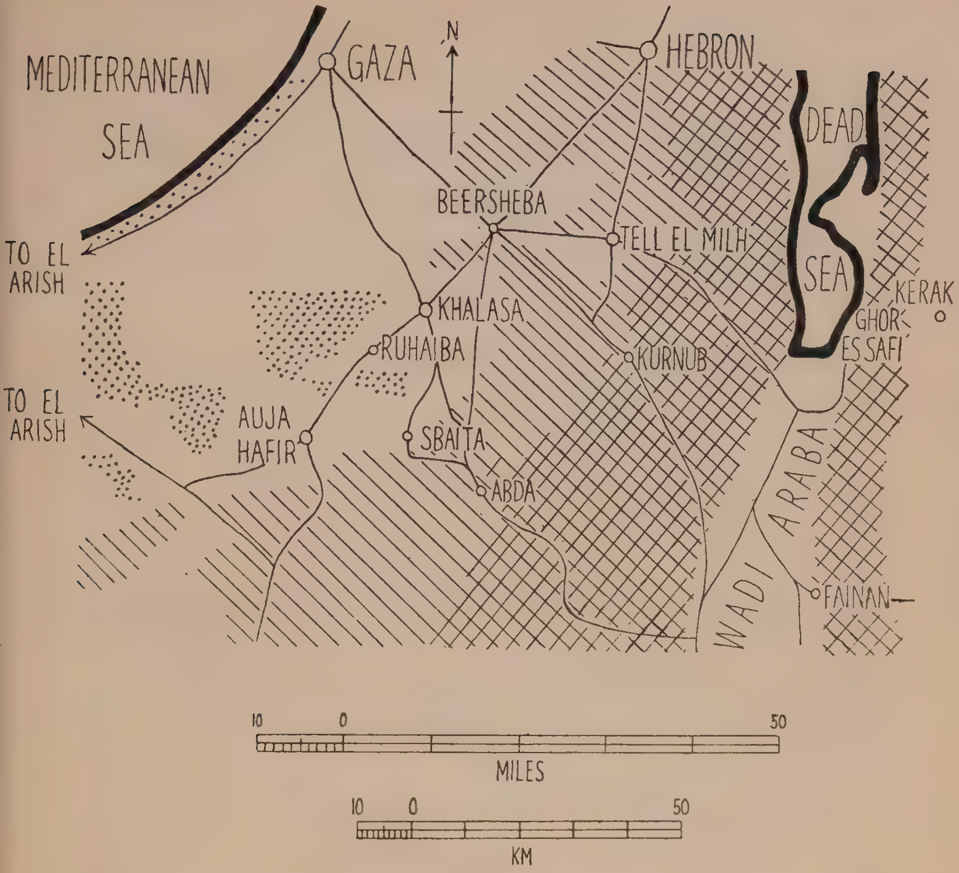
[1] Lefebvre, loc. cit.

[2] Alt, ZDPV, XLVI (1923), 62.

[3] *The Wilderness of Zin*, 1st edition, 109 ff.; 2nd edition, 123 ff.

[4] *Cf.* Colt, Auja Hafir, Greek Inscriptions, Nos. 57h, 58.

	No. of inscriptions.	ΠΑΥΩ group (RESTS)	ΤΙΘΗΜΙ group (INTERRED)	ΚΕΙΜΑΙ group (LIES)	ΕΤΕΛΕΥΤΗΣΕΝ (ENDED)	Other Formulae
GAZA	25	11 44%	13 52%	4 16%	—	—
BEERSHEBA	32	18 56%	10 31%	9 28%	—	2 6%
KHALASA	21	16 76%	—	1 5%	1 5%	3 14%
RUHAIBA	21	19 90%	—	—	—	2 10%
SBAITA	21	12 57%	12 57%	2 10%	1 5%	2 10%
AUJA HAFIR	26	2 8%	6 23%	—	14 54%	8 31%
ABDA	1	1	1	—	—	—
(At El Arish)	4	4 100%	—	—	—	—
FAINAN	3	2	1	1	—	1
GHOR ES SAFI	2	1	—	—	—	4
KERAK & KH. ADER	20	—	—	20 100%	1 5%	—
Totals	172	86 50%	43 25%	37 22%	16 9%	22 13%


MEDITERRANEAN SEA
GAZA
N
HEBRON
DEAD SEA
BEERSHEBA
TELL EL MILH
TO EL ARISH
KERAK
GHOR ES SAFI
KHALASA
RUHAIBA
KURNUB
TO EL ARISH
AUJA HAFIR
SBAITA
ABDA
WADI ARABA
FAINAN
10 0 50
MILES
10 0 50
KM

▩ SCARPS OF THE DEAD SEA & ARABA RIFT. THE WESTERN SCARP IS ALMOST ENTIRELY UNCULTIVABLE.

▧ WESTERN COUNTERSCARP, GENERALLY CULTIVABLE IN WADIS ONLY.

☐ OPEN COUNTRY ⋯ SAND-DUNES —— PRINCIPAL ROADS

KHIRBET ADER IS 6 KM. E.N.E., AND DAT RAS 21 KM. S.S.E., OF KERAK.

(AFTER COLONEL S.F. NEWCOMBE'S SURVEY, 1913-1914)

SURFACE FINDS IN EDOM AND MOAB

By Nelson Glueck

(*Director, American School of Oriental Research, Jerusalem*)

The Bible refers frequently to the Edomites and Moabites, who were the contemporaries of the Israelites. The ancestress of David was the Moabitess, Ruth. When the Israelites appeared at Qadesh-Barnea near Ezion-geber, they sent envoys to the king of Edom and to the king of Moab with the request for permission to traverse these territories. The permission was refused, and the wanderers contained in the Exodus group were compelled to pass through the desert to the east of Edom and Moab on their way to the Promised Land. Despite the information with regard to the kingdoms of Edom and Moab which can be gleaned from the pages of the Bible, there was until recently but little knowledge of the physical nature and extent of their territories, and of the character of their civilization. It was known thus that these kingdoms were situated in the southern half of what to-day is called Transjordan, but little more. Where exactly were their boundaries, what were their occupations, who were their gods—these were some of the questions that were asked and could not properly be answered.

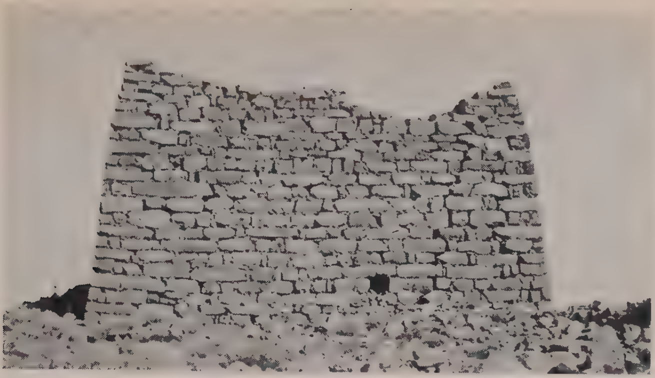
The American School of Oriental Research, Jerusalem, seeking a solution to these problems, undertook the archaeological exploration of all of Transjordan. About two-thirds of the task has now been completed. Over seven hundred and fifty ancient sites have been visited, pottery fragments examined, existing ruins photographed, sketch plans of many of them made, and many important individual finds made. The entire country from the Gulf of Aqabah to as far north now as the Wâdī Zerqā (the Biblical Jabbôq), has been methodically examined, square mile by square mile, and the study has been a rewarding one. It is hoped within a year or so definitely to complete the survey.

To-day it is possible to say that the physical civilization of Edom and Moab was at least the equal of that of Israel. Like the Israelites, the Edomites and Moabites were Semites, who emerging from the desert, had sought and found a footing in the lands of the Sown. Sometime during the latter part of the fourteenth century B.C., or at the beginning of the thirteenth century B.C., they had pre-empted the comparatively fertile lands of southern Transjordan, and commenced the cultivation of the soil. During this process they probably partly absorbed and partly drove out the Bedû, who since about 1900 B.C. had been the masters not only of the areas which became known as Edom and Moab, but of all of Transjordan south of the Wâdī Zerqā. (BASOR 74, pp. 2–3). Soon they had sloughed off the ways of their nomadic past and acquired the habits of an agricultural civilization. Coming after them, the Israelites found them strongly entrenched, and were compelled to move on still farther. They settled in northern Transjordan and in Western Palestine. In most respects all these groups developed similar cultures and worshipped the same or related fertility gods. Why it was that an inspired handful of religious geniuses in Israel developed the idea of one great and good god, and that Israel alone has maintained itself to this very day, while Edom and Moab have long since disappeared into the limbo of the past, is answered by the religious as the result of the handiwork of God.

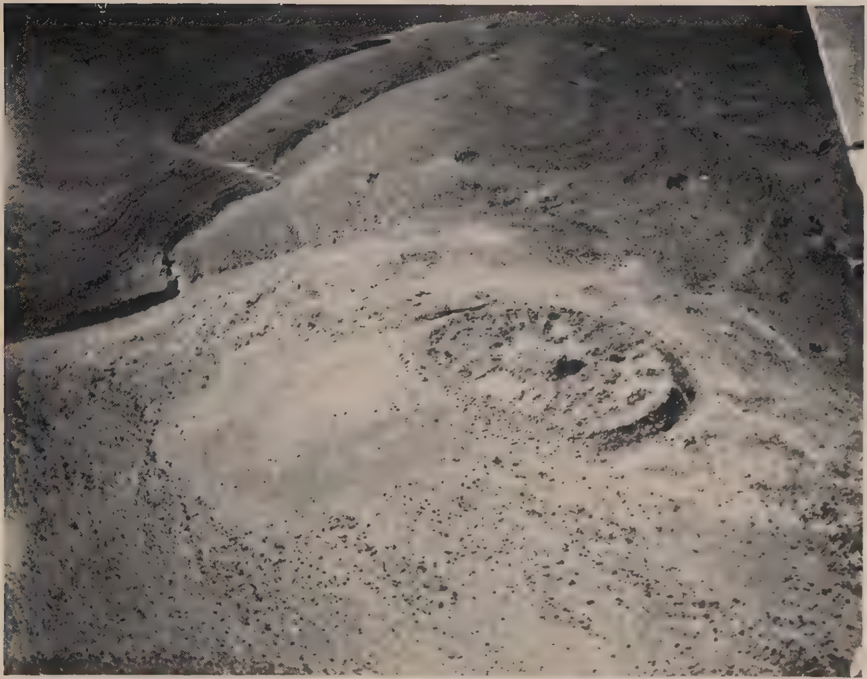
The main period of development in Early Iron Age Edom and Moab, as indicated also by the excavations of Crowfoot at Balûáh (PEFQS 1934, pp. 76–84), extended between the thirteenth and the eighth centuries B.C., after which a period of deterioration set in, culminating in complete destruction in the sixth century B.C. During their heyday, these were highly developed kingdoms. The land was dotted with well built stone villages and towns. The borders of the kingdoms which can now be accurately fixed were fortified by strong fortresses, built usually on eminences, and commanding a view of each other. (Plate XXX, Fig. 1. Qaṣr Abū el-Kharaq, a Moabite fortress on the east border of the Moabite kingdom.) Without such frontier fortresses to hold back the hungry Bedouin, no agricultural civilization could exist in Transjordan. This is no less true to-day than it was three thousand years ago. The British mandatory government of Transjordan headed by Emir Abdullah, the astute brother of the former King Feisal of Iraq, has likewise constructed a line of border fortresses on the eastern frontier for the purpose of guarding the cultivated lands west of them from the raids of desert hordes. The reality of the ever present danger, which materializes the moment the central political government weakens or ceases to function, can be illustrated by the fact that as recently as 1921 a great raiding band of three thousand Bedouin got to within three hours' striking distance of Amman, the capital of Transjordan, before bombing planes and troops could be brought to disperse them. The Moabite and Edomite border fortresses which functioned about three millennia ago were built for the most part in the form of very strong blockhouses, situated beyond the edge of the fertile lands, and controlling the tracks leading from the desert. Many of them, such as Qaṣr Abū el-Kharaq, are still fifteen to twenty feet high, and measure approximately forty by sixty feet. Water for the garrisons was supplied by cisterns, but food had to be brought by rations-convoys from inland centres. Both architectural features, and pottery finds made in these fortresses or by their sides, enable the archaeologist to determine their date.

The interior of Edom and Moab was not, however, guarded solely by these border fortresses. Practically every site throughout the length and breadth of the land either consisted of a great fortress, or was protected by a strong central structure, around which the houses and tents of the farmers were clustered, all contained within a great enclosing wall. (Plate XXX, Fig. 2. Khirbet er-Remeil, overlooking the Wâdī er-Remeil. Courtesy of "School Films, Ltd.," London.) Such a site is represented by the ruins of Khirbet er-Remeil in Moab, overlooking the Wâdī er-Remeil. It is situated in what is now an almost completely abandoned region, visited by occasional shepherds with their flocks during the winter and spring, but which was formerly a thriving agricultural district. Khirbet er-Remeil is one of the best preserved ruins of its kind in all of Transjordan. Situated on a high knoll, it commands a view of the countryside for many miles round about. A very strong outer wall, which is still over six feet thick, and may originally have been twenty feet high, encloses the ruins of a number of houses built against it. They face a central, dominating blockhouse. This building measures fifty-seven by forty-five feet. Not far from Khirbet er-Remeil is another great Moabite site, again situated on a knoll, and surrounded by a strong wall, the outlines of which can be seen in the air photograph. (Plate XXXI, Fig. 1. Khirbet el-Medeiyineh. Courtesy " School Films, Ltd.," London.) The long, rectangular site is further protected by a dry moat which completely surrounds it. From the air, Khirbet el-Medeiyineh looks very much like Maiden Castle in England. By these sites, and others, large quantities of pottery fragments were found. The trained student of Palestinian pottery can tell from such fragments alone, with less of an error than a century in a millennium, how old or how young an ancient site may be. The Edomite and Moabite pottery bespeaks a highly developed civilization, and the presence of potters skilled in ceramic craft and possessed of high artistic sense. Many of the sherds found were covered with a beautiful, rich red or brown slip, highly polished, and further decorated with horizontal bands of dark brown paint, and sometimes with bands of white wash between them. Sherds of this type are illustrated in Fig. 4, and were found at a place called ʿAleiyan, in ancient Moab. (Plate XXXI, Fig. 2. Moabite painted sherds.)

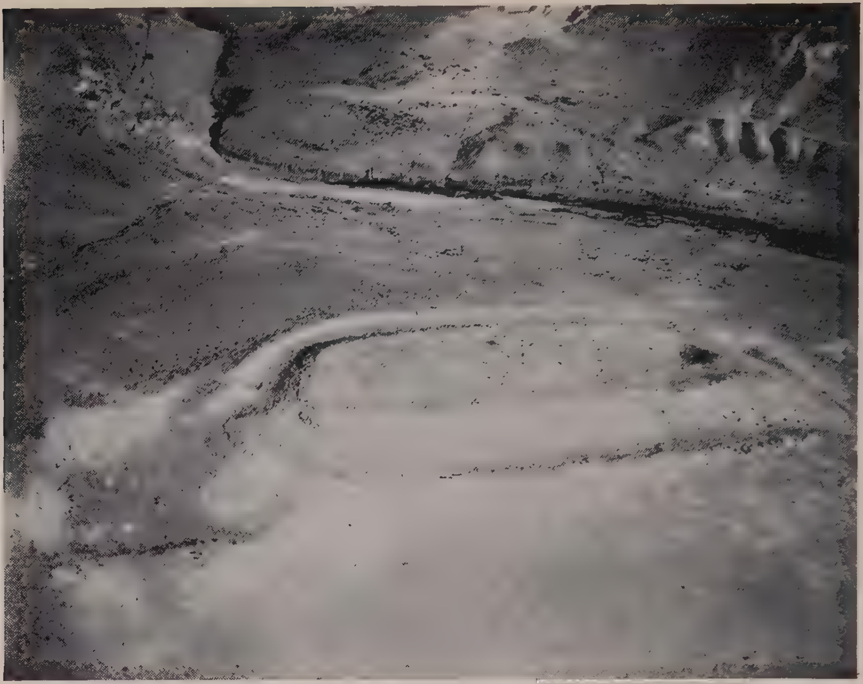
Numerous individual finds have been made, which afford illuminating glimpses into the religious life of the Moabites and Edomites. Particularly prominent in the pantheon of the deities worshipped by them were the god and goddess of fertility. The farmers of Edom and Moab had in their houses crude figurines, representative of the gods whose good will they sought. Thus, near Buṣeirah, which is to be identified with the ancient Edomite town of Bozrah, prominently mentioned in the Bible, a figurine of the fertility goddess was found, wearing a lamp as a crown, and holding in her hands what seems to be a sacred loaf of bread. A related type of figurine of equally crude type was found at the same site. Photographs of these figurines have been published by Lankester Harding in *PEQ*, 1937, p. 254. At Khirbet el-Medeiyineh there was found the head of a pottery figurine, which represents a Semitic king or deity. (Plate XXXII, Fig. 1. Head of pottery figurine of Semitic king or deity from Khirbet el-Medeiyineh in Moab.) The head is skilfully moulded, every feature being clearly and boldly delineated. The head-dress is held by an *'uqal*, tied in front with a bow knot. Behind and below the ears extend long locks of braided hair. The pointed beard extends from below thick protruding lips. The curved nose, bulging cheeks, with two incisions on the right side, and large slanting eyes complete the picture. Another pottery figurine of a goddess holding a rounded loaf of sacred bread (?), and related thus in type to the above mentioned lamp-goddess, is seen in Fig. 2. (Fig. 6. Pottery figurine of fertility goddess found near Mt. Nebo.) The heads of two similar figurines found respectively at Khirbet el-Medeiyineh and Balû'ah in Moab are shown in Figs. 3 and 4. The prong by which the head from Balû'ah was attached to the body is still intact. With these figurines of deities, there were sometimes found animal figurines, such as the ram's head from Saliyeh, and the bull's head from Khirbet el-Medeiyineh, shown in Figs. 5 and 6, which evidently represent some of the animals sacrificed in the ceremonies of the fertility cult. These figurines, the beautiful pottery fragments found with them, the sites on which they occur connected by the " royal road " mentioned in the Bible, whose line can now be traced, are the materials for history gained by gleaning from the surface ruins still left in Edom and Moab. They testify to the reality, and to the kind of kingdoms which once existed there alongside of the kingdoms of Israel and Judah. They also tend to make more real such Biblical figures as Balaam of 'Ammôn who refused at the behest of Balak, king of Moab, to curse Israel, and Job of Edom who refused to curse God.



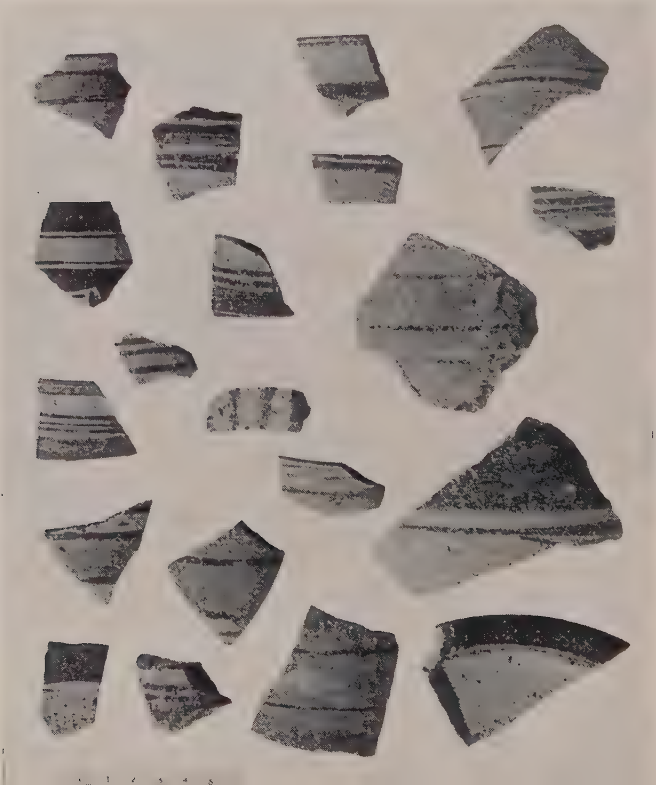
QASR ABU EL-KHARAQ

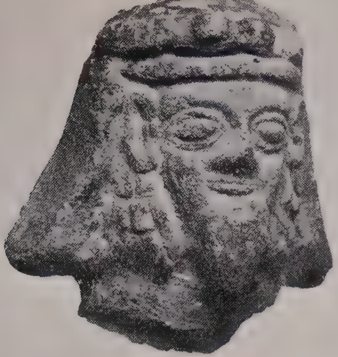


KHIRBET ER-REMEIL, OVERLOOKING THE WADI ER-REMEIL
(COURTESY OF SCHOOL FILMS LTD.)



KHIRBET EL-MEDEIYINEH (COURTESY OF SCHOOL FILMS LTD.)

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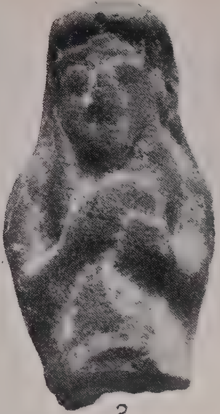
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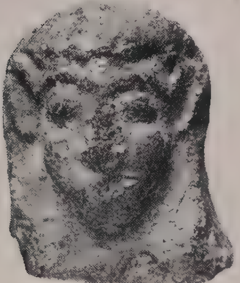
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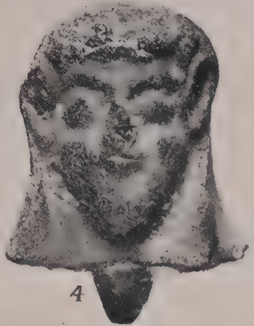
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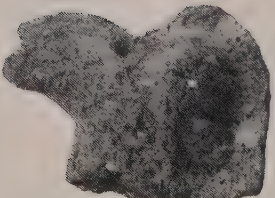
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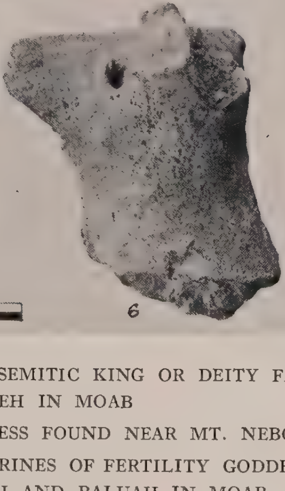
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FIG. 1. HEAD OF POTTERY FIGURINE OF SEMITIC KING OR DEITY FROM KHIRBET EL-MEDEIYINEH IN MOAB

FIG. 2. FIGURINE OF FERTILITY GODDESS FOUND NEAR MT. NEBO

FIGS. 3 AND 4. HEADS OF POTTERY FIGURINES OF FERTILITY GODDESSES FOUND AT KHIRBET EL-MEDEIYINEH AND BALUAH IN MOAB

FIGS. 5 AND 6. HEADS OF POTTERY FIGURINES OF A RAM AND A BULL FOUND RESPECTIVELY AT SALIYEH AND KHIRBET EL-MEDEIYINEH IN MOAB

I. ANCIENT JEWISH STAMPS

By A. Reifenberg
(*Jerusalem*)

Stamps used for the sealing of property were in general use in antiquity. The same custom prevailed amongst Jews, especially for the purpose of attesting the preparation of food according to ritual regulations. Of the stamps described here, Plate XXXIII, Figs. 1 and 2, are unpublished and Figs. 3 and 4 are illustrated for the first time. All stamps are reproduced in natural size.

No. 1. This stamp was bought in Jerusalem and is said to have been found at Silwan, the ancient Siloah. The stamp is of limestone and has a now broken ring-handle on the back, which is however not large enough to suit a finger. The ring-handle is set in a quadrangular frame (Fig. 1b).

The inscription on the stamp reads A אלעזר. The stamp was found in Jerusalem and therefore cannot be later than A.D. 70. The epigraphic character of the writing is in accordance with this date. Most probably after the destruction of the Temple the stamp was washed down the hill into the Valley of Joshaphat, at the bottom of the village of Silwan.

We now find in the Mishnah (Men. VIII, 1, 3 and 6), that the " alpha," i.e. the best quality of flour, oil and wine was used for the temple-offerings. The sealing of wine-amphorae was quite common in antiquity, this practice being frequently mentioned in the Talmud (b. Az. 29b, 31a, 61a and b), and our stamp was most probably used to seal jars containing the wine for temple-offerings. The " alpha " of wine came from Keruthin (var. Karuhim) and Hattulim (Men. VIII, 6) and the Eleazar inscribed on the stamp was possibly the name of a dealer, guaranteeing the provenience. It may be mentioned that there existed a R. Eleazar ben Zadok, who dealt in wine and oil (Tos. Beza, III, 8) who lived in the century preceding the destruction of the Temple. We have in any case in this little stamp the only remaining object used in connection with the temple-offerings.

No. 2. This stamp is of bronze and has a broad ring on its back ; it was bought in Syria and is said to have been found at Antiochia. A similar stamp was in the collection of Baron Edmond de Rothschild (H. Frauberger, *Mitt. der Ges. zur Erforschung jüdischer Kunstdenkmäler*, Vols. III and IV, pp. 38–39, 1903).

On the stamp a seven-branched candlestick and a shofar (left side) and lulab are shown, symbolical representations well known from the art of the synagogues (A. Reifenberg, *Denkmäler der jüdischen Antike*, Berlin, 1937). Tentatively this stamp may be attributed to the third to fifth century A.D.

No. 3. This bronze-stamp, already catalogued in *Dalton Catalogue of Early Christian Antiquities* (London, 1901, No. 487) is published with the permission of the Trustees of the British Museum. It is said to originate from Sardes. To the right of the seven-branched candlestick a palm-branch is depicted, and to the left a cluster of grapes, possibly an allusion to the stamp having been used for wine-jars. The name ΛЄΟΝΤΙΟC was frequently used by Jews in antiquity (Schwabe, *BJPES*, Vol. IV, p. 87) and Frey, *Corpus inscriptionum judaicarum*, Nos. 134 and 715). This stamp too may be dated third–fifth century A.D.

No. 4. This bronze-seal is mentioned in Paribeni, *Le Terme di Diocleziano e il Museo Nazionale Romano*, p. 336, No. 1233, and its photograph is published here with the permission of the Regia Soprintendenza alle Antiquità, Roma. The stamp was apparently found in Italy (Rome ?).

On this stamp too a seven-branched candlestick is drawn, with a lulab at its right and a shofar (?) at its left. The name THEODORA occurs twice in its Greek form on Roman sepulchral inscriptions (Frey, l.c. Nos. 30, 83) and perhaps once in its Latin form (Frey, l.c. No. 487) ; Nos. 696 and the much earlier inscription No. 709 in Frey's *Corpus* may also be compared. This seal too may belong to the third–fifth century A.D.

II. SOME ANCIENT HEBREW SEALS

In case a seal is not found during excavations or in case it has no special characteristics it is difficult to decide whether it is Hebrew or whether it belongs to one of the kindred Semitic peoples (Phoenician, Aramaic, Moabite, etc.). Nevertheless one is probably justified in calling a seal "Hebrew" if no special circumstances definitely point to another people, since seals with "Canaanite" writing were most popular especially amongst the ancient Hebrews. About two thirds of all seals of known origin (i.e. 57 out of 88) originate from Palestine and only about one third (ca. 31) from neighbouring countries (Transjordan, Syria, Egypt, Mesopotamia); in most cases "originate" means only that the seal was bought in the country concerned.

Seals with pictorial representations as well as others were used by the Hebrews and the following statistics with regard to 57 seals (including seal-impressions) originating from Palestine is not without interest:

	From Judaea		*From Galilee*	
	Seals with writing only	Seals with writing and picture	Seals with writing only	Seals with writing and picture
Originating from Palestine (57)	37=76%	11=24%	1=11%	8=89%
Excavated in Palestine (40)	27=84%	5=16%	1=13%	7=87%

This clearly shows that pictorial representations were known in Judaea, but that heathen influence was much stronger in Galilee. 76 per cent. of all Judaean seals show nothing but inscription, whereas 89 per cent. of Galilean seals belong to the pictorial type. Besides it may be mentioned that all inscribed "Canaanite" seals coming from Egypt (6) and 80 per cent. of all seals from Syria (15) show figures,

Of the seals described here, Plate XXXIV, No. 1 was bought in Jerusalem, Nos. 2 and 3 at Damascus, No. 4 at Beyrouth and No. 5 at Cairo, but is said to originate from Syria. All the seals are in the usual ovoid form, except No. 2, which is semi-globular

No. 1. The stone is a black bituminous limestone, most probably originating from the bituminous-limestone deposit in the Judaean desert (Nebi-Musa), it is 13 mm. long and 5 mm. thick.

The inscription reads : לסילא ב For Syla the son of Hodayah.
ןהודיה

The biblical names סלא, סלי, סלוא, the talmudical סלא and the mishnaitic שילא and שילה should be compared with our סילא. In the Elephantine papyri we find the forms סליא and סלואה (A. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the fifth century*, 1923). The name הודיה, also spelled הודויה and הודויהו, is well known from the Bible.

No. 2. The stone is a red, yellow and white stained agate, 15 mm. in diameter and 5 mm. thick. On the seal a winged scarab is depicted such as we frequently meet with on Hebrew royal jar-handles ; besides similar representations are found on seals. (D. Diringer, *Le Iscrizioni Antico-Ebraiche Palestinesi*, 1934, plate XX, No. 21 ; plate XXII, Nos. 2 and 4, and especially S. H. Hooke. A Scarab and Sealing from Tell Duweir in *P.E.F. Quarterly St.*, 1935, p. 196.)

The inscription reads : לאלנתן For Elnatan.

The name is well known from the Bible, the Lachish Letters (Letter III, 15) and Babylonian and Assyrian documents. It may be pointed out that the sign below the first *nun* is not a letter, but forms part of the winged scarab, as is sufficiently well illustrated e.g. by the seal illustrated in Diringer (l.c.) on plate XXII, No. 4.

No. 3. The stone is a white quartzite, 15 mm. long and 7 mm. thick. The griffin represented on the seal is most similar to the one found on the Samaria ivories, showing also a human-headed cherub. (J. W. Crowfoot and G. M. Crowfoot in *P.E.F. Quarterly St.*, 1933, pp. 7 et seq.) In accordance with the date of the Samaria ivories this seal too should be assigned to the ninth century B.C. and is a typical specimen of the mixed Phoenico-Palestinian style of the period. Griffins were frequently represented on Palestinian seals and are exhaustively dealt with by W. E. Staples (*The Oriental Institute of The University of Chicago Commun.*, No. 9, pp. 49 et seq., 1931), besides the illustrations in Diringer (l.c.), plate XIX, Nos. 3, 7 and 8 ; Table XX, No. 14, and Table XXI, Nos. 17 and 20, as well as an article by A. Rowe (*P.E.F. Quarterly St.*, 1933, pp. 97 et seq.) should be compared.

The inscription reads : פדאל Pedael, the letter *dalet* being slightly damaged. The name פדאל corresponds to the biblical פדהל (Num. xxxiv, 28) and such biblical names as יפדיה, פדיה, פדיהו and פדהצור should be compared with it. The name פדיהו occurs on a seal from Jerusalem (Diringer, l.c., p. 203, No. 45). Similar names are found on Assyrian, Babylonian and Phoenician documents.

No. 4. The stone is a white opal, 16 mm. long and 5 mm. thick. On this seal a bearded human figure with long hair is represented. The man walks to the right and holds a stick in his hand. He is apparently only dressed in an apron. In the uppermost right corner a lunar crescent and solar disk are depicted. A man in similar attitude and holding a stick in his hand is represented on a Palestinian seal in the Louvre. (Diringer, l.c., plate XXI, No. 4) ; on the Louvre seal the knob of the stick has the size of a crescent. The inscription reads : לפרע For Pera (or : For the leader).

The verb פרע means " to loose the hair " or " to let the hair grow " and the noun פרע designates the locks of the hair. On the other hand at two passages (Deut. xxxii, 42, and Judg. v, 2) פרע is usually explained as " leader " or " prince," a meaning which some authors connect with the custom of loosing the locks in time of war. (Gesenius-Buhl, *Handwörterbuch*, 1915, p. 660.) If פרע in our case is not a proper name it may simply point to the fact that it is the " leader's " seal. (Cf. the loosened hair of the figure !) A seal bearing the inscription לשר (" For the governor ") was published by Sukenik (*P.E.F. Quarterly St.*, 1928, pp. 51 et seq.) and proves that there existed seals giving only the official capacity of its owner, but not his proper name.

It is conceivable and perhaps even plausible that this seal is not of Hebrew origin, but belonged to a member of a kindred Semitic people.

No. 5. The seal is a white opal, 16 mm. in diameter and 4 mm. thick; it is not pierced and was therefore used as a ring-stone.

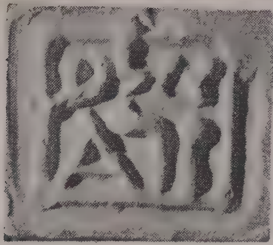
We see on the seal a man walking to the left. The head shows Egyptian influence, the costume reminds one more of Mesopotamian prototypes. In his right hand the man holds a stick, the left hand resting on the point of it. To the right there is a stand supporting a falcon. Behind the man a serpent is seen with its head to the left. Its tail coils round the stand and apparently also round the stick to the left.

The inscription in the field below reads : שמאב Shemab.

We hold this reading to be correct, since the three vertical strokes of the *mem* are clearly distinguishable.

שמאב is probably only a shortened form for שמעאב (as e.g. שמואל, etc.) and the name should be translated : " The Father hears." On the other hand, names containing this element שם and apparently not connected with the root שמע, like שם, שמא, שמאבו, and up to a point שמה should be considered in explaining our שמאב. Whether Noth (*Die Israelitischen Personennamen*, Stuttgart, 1928, pp. 66 et seq.) is right or wrong in assuming that names with אב are theophoric has little to do with the meaning of this name, as even then אב could not be considered as the *proper name* of a god. Whatever our explanation of the name, both its components occur very frequently not only in Biblical names, but also in the Elephantine papyri, Phoenician and other Semitic personal names. As most closely connected the Biblical שמאם (1 Chron. ix, 38) should be mentioned as well as the Babylonian one Samu-abi (Buchanan Gray, *Hebrew proper names*, s.vv.).

The author is indebted to Professor L. A. Mayer for many valuable suggestions.



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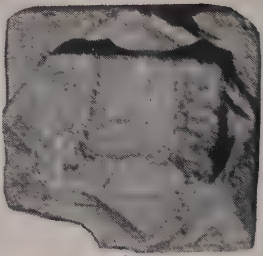

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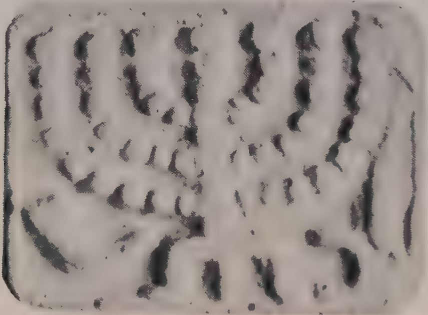

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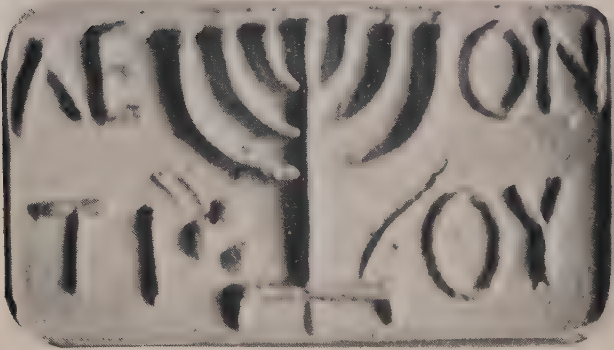

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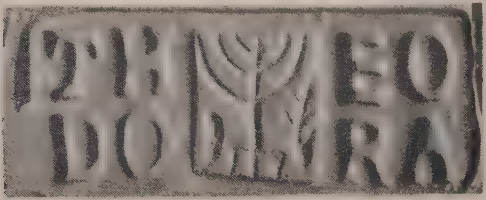

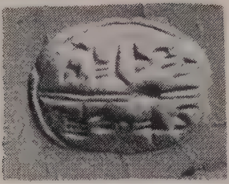

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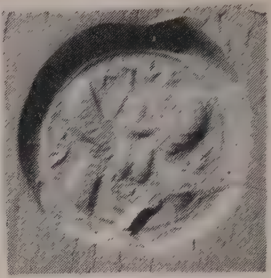

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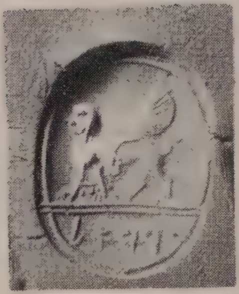

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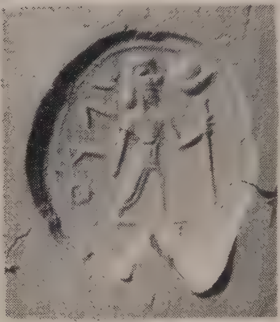

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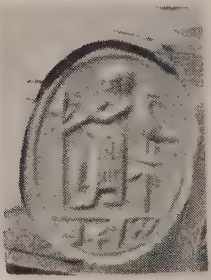

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NOTE ON I KINGS, CHAPTER X, 1–13
(II Chronicles, Chapter ix, 1–12)

By Stewart Perowne

Why did the Queen of Sheba visit King Solomon? It seems possible that her motive was, at least in part, a commercial one, and that this famous story actually describes the first trade agreement of which history has record.

The realm of Sheba lay in Southern Arabia, in a district which approximates to the modern Yemen. Then, as now, the territory was peopled by different tribes, of whom first one and then another would secure the pre-eminence : but the people of Saba or Sheba early became paramount.

The oldest traditions of these people and of their neighbours are preserved in the Hebrew Scriptures. The list of the sons of Ham (Gen. x, 7) includes Cush, father of Seba and grandfather of Sheba. Further on in the same chapter (Gen. x, 26–29) Sheba and Hazarmaveth are named as sons of Joktan, who is identified with Qahtan, the progenitor, according to tradition, of the Southern Arabians. Hazarmaveth is the Hebrew equivalent of Hadhramaut.[1] His mention as Sheba's brother is another indication of the Southern Arabian locality of Sheba.

The references to the Sabaeans in the Old Testament bear witness to their power and prosperity (e.g. Isaiah lx, 6, Jeremiah vi, 20, Ezekiel xxvii, 22 et seq.,) : nor is this surprising, for through their territory ran one of the main trade routes of antiquity, which carried to Egypt and the Mediterranean world not only the precious perfumes of Southern Arabia, but also the products of India and even China.

This monopoly was, naturally, jealously guarded. King

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[1] Professor Leo Mayer, of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, has suggested to me that the name " Hadhramaut " is connected with the Arabic root ḤḌR, and thus denotes a settled civilization, as opposed to nomadism—an accurate description of this remarkable valley, especially by comparison with the surrounding wilderness.

Solomon threatened it. He had allied himself with Egypt (1 Kings iii, 1) and also with Hiram, King of Tyre (1 Kings v, 1) This in itself must have adversely affected Sheba's interest in the trade route, for Tyre, as a centre of Phoenician commerce, must have had a prominent share in the Southern Arabian trade, a share which it was later to re-acquire (see below).

The route's other exit to the Mediterranean, i.e. through Gaza or Egypt (both of which were later to become important terminals of the trade) was also closed by Solomon's Mediterranean "bloc."

The traffic, however, might still have been maintained by the sea route up the Red Sea, although to the Arabians the camel was naturally a preferable means of transport. The northern port for such a trade would have been 'Aqaba, the ancient Ezion-Geber, where in fact evidence of trade with Southern Arabia about a century later than the time of Solomon has recently come to light.

But when Solomon placed his navy at Ezion-Geber he denied even the sea route to the Sabaeans. He went further, and carried the war, as it were, into the enemy's country, for his navy succeeded in obtaining supplies of gold from Ophir (1 Kings, ix, 26–28). This aspect of his policy is an interesting presage of that which was to be adopted later by Raymond de Châtillon, who also based a navy on 'Aqaba with a view to raiding Southern Arabia. It is quite possible that, like him, Solomon had to transport his ships, or the material for them, from the Mediterranean, for where on the shores of the Red Sea could timber be found for ship-building ?

Solomon's progressive commercial policy thus threatened the Sabaeans with ruin. What were they to do ? Their enterprising and sagacious queen decided to negotiate. The text of 1 Kings x, 2 and 10, suggests that she succeeded in persuading Solomon for a handsome consideration to restore friendly commercial relations. Indeed, this is the general inference from the whole passage, for why otherwise should the visit of a Southern Arabian sovereign have been accorded in the Jewish records a description which was to make her one of the world's most famous monarchs ?

It may be inferred from 2 Chron. ix, 14, that the agreement depended on the payment of regular tribute. Apparently it lasted for about a century, by which time the Jews were weakened by division and pressed by their neighbours on the north and east. The people of Sheba profited by their opportunity. In 2 Chron. xxi, 16 and 17, we read that in the days of King Jehoram (about 887 B.C.) " the Arabians that were near the Ethiopians,"[1] i.e. the Sabaeans, resumed their alliance with the Phoenician Philistines, and, together with them, attacked and looted Jerusalem and ruined Jehoram.

The historical connection between the Phoenicians and the Sabaeans was thus restored. The people of Sheba once more enjoyed an undisputed monopoly of the Arabian trade, and became a by-word for wealth.

We may trace, perhaps, a certain wistfulness in the promise of the Psalmist (Psalm lxxii, 10) that " the kings of Sheba and Seba shall offer gifts," and the declaration of Isaiah (Isaiah xliii, 3) that Egypt, Ethiopia and Seba shall be given as Israel's ransom.

The link with the Phoenicians is emphasized by Ezekiel (Ezekiel xxvii, 23), who, in the comprehensive catalogue of the commercial relations of Tyre, includes the merchants of Sheba, Canneh and Eden. Eden is the modern Aden, even thus early an important harbour. Canneh is the Cana of the Periplus and Pliny, the chief port of the incense country, now identified with Husn al Ghurab.

By the fifth century B.C. the fame of Southern Arabia and its prosperity had spread to Greece. Herodotus (Bk. iii, chap. 107) describes it[2] as being the only region which, in that day, produced frankincense and other spices : soon even an Athenian audience was acquainted with the opulence of Arabia, for Euripides, in the opening lines of the Bacchae, refers to Arabia as εὐδαίμων, an epithet which, in its Latin equivalent—*felix*—was to be applied to the country for many centuries to come.[3]

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[1] Later, some time before the second century of the present era, Saba was conquered by the king of Aksum, and the countries were united under Ethiopian rule. In later Ethiopian legends the Queen of Sheba became naturalized as an Ethiopian princess.

[2] Incorrectly : Somaliland still grew incense at that period.

[3] In view of the territory's modern name " Yemen," it is worth noting that from the Arabic root YMN is derived not only YAMĪN, meaning the right hand, but also YŬMN, meaning prosperity or felicity.

The later history of Sabaean commerce down to the beginning of the present era is well known from the writings of Pliny and Strabo and others and from a continually increasing number of inscriptions; but we may perhaps be justified in finding in the celebrated story of the Queen of Sheba the earliest documentary record of its impact upon the Mediterranean world.

TWO NOTES ON THE BOOK OF JOB

(1) *Chap. vi*, 15–19 (Revised Version).

"My brethren have dealt deceitfully as a brook, as the channel of brooks that pass away: which are black by reason of the ice, and wherein the snow hideth itself: what time they wax warm they vanish: when it is hot, they are consumed out of their place. The caravans that travel by the way of them turn aside; they go up into the waste, and perish. The caravans of Tema looked, and companies of Sheba waited for them."

Is it possible to find in these verses, as rendered in the Revised Version, evidence of the South Arabian origin of the Book of Job?

In the Yemen, the modern equivalent of the ancient Sheba, the mountains run up to a height of seven or eight thousand feet, and are intersected by deep clefts, through which run the water courses. These valley beds are still, in many places, the only roads. Why, then, should "the caravans that travel by the way of them turn aside"? Possibly in order to seek for water in wells distant from the valleys; and the words "what time they wax warm they vanish: when it is hot, they are consumed out of their place" seem to suggest this. But another reason may have been in the writer's mind.

During the winter, it is safe to travel through the valleys, but when the summer comes, with its violent rain storms, they may become raging torrents in a remarkably short time, and many a modern traveller has encountered the danger of being trapped in a valley by a sudden spate. The only way of escaping from the flood is to "turn aside."

But by leaving the valley (for whatever reason), the traveller also leaves the trade route, and is thus more likely to become the prey of robbers. Even the Aden Protectorate Administration formerly recognized that, while the trade route itself was sacred, and robbery committed thereon was punishable by the Government, crimes committed off the trade route might be regarded as personal quarrels and did not necessarily call for official intervention.

Perhaps we may find in the survival of this custom the explanation of the statement that those who turn aside from the brook, i.e. the public highway, become the prey of the marauding men of Tema and Sheba.

(2) *Chap. xxxviii*, 1.

" Then the Lord answered Job out of the whirlwind."

The traditional tomb of the prophet Job is to be found on the summit of a high mountain just north of Jebel Jehaf, on the confines of the Yemen and the Aden Protectorate, about eighty miles north of Aden, where a glistening white dome identifies his sepulchre.

This locality is famous for the thrilling and sometimes terrifying thunderstorms which visit it during the summer months. Practically every evening, between the hours of five and seven, during the months of July and August, thunder is to be heard, not in isolated bursts, but in an almost unbroken roll.

On one occasion in the year 1937 a burst of thunder in that locality was timed by a watch to have lasted eighteen minutes without any intermission.

These exceptional and violent storms, combined with the wildness of the mountains, might well have suggested the dramatic intervention of the Lord from out of the whirlwind.

EN MISHPAT

By R. Macgregor

According to Driver, in *Hastings DB.*, Vol. III, p. 66, the spring of En Mishpat in Genesis xiv, 7, derived its name from having been the site of an ancient oracle at which decisions were given, or even at which Moses may himself have legislated.

Whatever may be said of such a view, it is at any rate a fact that the original name of this spring, as of all springs, goes back to a still remoter past, when the popular imagination held that the spring was either a deity or the abode of a deity.

En Mishpat, " fountain of judgment," is on the face of it, too impersonal to have been the original name. In fact, " En Mishpat " represents an attempt, made in the interests of a later theology, to disguise the name of a primitive water deity.

We have only to read " En Shophet," in order to recover the original name.

Dussaud (*Les Découvertes de Ras Shamra*, p. 69 f) points out that whereas Baal (Hadad) presided over the showers of rain from above, Aliyan had river sources as his province, in the theology of ancient Palestine. He then gives the illuminating title of Aliyan, revealed in the tablets, as " Shophet " of the rivers, i.e. as presiding over river sources.

If this is the original name, and if " En Shophet " was altered later to " En Mishpat," the old appellative had nothing to do with oracles and judgments.

Rather the ancient name draws attention to the fact that it was not the sky god Baal (Hadad) but Aliyan of the source of the river who fertilizes the valley with his springs and flowing waters. Hull, in *Hastings DB*, Vol. III, p. 830, describes the well watered character of the district (*vide* article Kadesh).

REVIEWS AND NOTICES

Moses and Monotheism. By SIGMUND FREUD. The Hogarth Press. 8*s.* 6*d.* Translated from the German by Katherine Jones.

It may as well be said at the outset that the attention which the press has given to this book is mainly due to the fame of its author and to the tragic circumstances which have made him a fugitive from the country which his achievements have so greatly honoured. Only the deepest sympathy can be felt for him and for so many others of his countrymen in the worse than Egyptian sufferings which have befallen them in these latter days. Hence it is difficult to deal with this curious book in anything but a friendly spirit.

The first two parts of the book have already appeared in *Imago*, 1937, but the third part has not previously been published.

In the first part the eminent author discusses the grounds for the belief that Moses might have been an Egyptian, and in the second part goes on to reconstruct the Moses saga in the light of this possibility. He arrives at the conclusion that the present form of the saga has been reached by blending together the stories of two separate persons, an Egyptian Moses and a Midianite Moses, whose characters and activities are quite different. The Mosaic monotheism is attributed to the (assumed) fact that the Egyptian Moses was an ardent adherent of the so-called monotheistic religion of Aton, founded by Amenophis IV, better known as the "heretic" Pharaoh Akhnaton, while Jahwism is attributed to the Midianite Moses. A characteristic passage at the close of this part of the book is worth quoting because it shows clearly the author's method of approach: "With this I have come to an end, my sole purpose having been to fit the figure of an Egyptian Moses into the framework of Jewish history, I may now express my conclusions in the shortest formula: To the well-known *duality* of that history—*two peoples* who fuse together to form one nation, *two kingdoms* into which this nation divides, *two* *names* for the Deity in the source of the Bible—we add two new ones: the founding of *two* new religions, the first one ousted by the second and yet reappearing victorious, *two* founders of religions, who are both called by the same name Moses and whose personalities we have to separate from each other. And all these dualities are necessary consequences of the first: one section of the people passed through what may properly be termed a traumatic experience which the other was spared."

We have here the fallacious simplicity of a formula, attractive at first sight, especially where first-hand knowledge of the sources and of their archaeological background is wanting, but breaking down when examined in the light of the contemporary evidence.

In the first place, a careful analysis of the Hebrew sources reveals that many diverse elements must have gone to the making of the Hebrew people, and that it is a misleading simplification to reduce them to a duality.

Secondly, a fourteenth century date for the Exodus, which must be assumed if we assign Moses to the time of Amenophis IV, has many difficulties, and requires much more evidence than is offered here.

Thirdly, the dualism of the divine names is also a superficial one. Hebrew sources again show that in the early period of the religion various names for the Deity were current.

But it is hardly fair to deal with this interesting and suggestive but misleading book as a serious contribution to Old Testament scholarship. It is worth reading for its distinguished author's sake, and we hope that it will be widely read, but *cum grano*. S. H. H.

Oriental Assembly. By T. E. LAWRENCE. (Williams and Norgate. 10*s*. 6*d*.)

This " assembly " is the final publication of Lawrence's written words. It has thus a special value, beyond the interest and fascination that mark out all his literary work. Lawrence's other writings were intended either for a wide but unknown public, as in *The Seven Pillars*, or for the many friends he cared for so warmly, as in his *Letters*. This book brings us face to face with Lawrence himself, in his short *Diary of a*

Journey across the Euphrates, whose effortless and unself-conscious pages were written for himself alone. Many diaries appear to have been written reminiscently, as though intended for an audience eventually. In Lawrence's diary we follow him across the Euphrates, and, watching his solitary progress, we are impressed anew by his self-restraint and balance. Far from the clamour and contradictions of ordinary life, and for the moment neither needing nor needed by his friends, accompanied by a few chosen books, he travelled in great contentment of mind. This solitude of spirit makes the diary as frank a page of self-revelation as anything the world is likely to get from Lawrence. We note the exactitude that governs his life; nothing is left to memory to fill in later; whether he feels ill or well—(" cannot possibly continue tramp in this condition. Can hardly lift hand to write this.")—the day's content is fully noted down each night before he sleeps, with the fidelity which was one of the mainsprings of his life. In this stern subordination of matter to mind, of body to spirit, we see the shaping of the Lawrence who was afterwards to lead undisciplined men through deserts of physical and mental endurance to triumph, moulding them, as he had been moulded, by experience and hardship. There is a great charm in this quiet narrative of day by day; every essential detail is recorded with an admirable economy of words, and vivid little word-pictures illustrate the entries like etchings in the margin of a page. " I found the Sheikh in the castle, which he has made his home. There was a huge stone vaulted polygonal tower, with deep embrasures and an earth floor. In this he with seven or eight others was reclining, discussing the loss of a key." " Walked across to Rebekah's Well. I came in past it yesterday, resting near it half an hour, and the women as they came out to draw water came and looked at me, singing. Some offered me water from their wooden pails." " A bridge of two arches in limestone, across a green, swift-rushing stream: from the sides of the valley just below the bridge came strong cold water-springs." " The village is built in steps on the N. side of a narrow valley, running E. into the Euphrates, full of running water, and the wind-noise rustling up and down the trees. Like Blake's ' innumerable dance of leaves.' " The mind of Lawrence is in training, as well as his body, all its rich qualities being developed by the severest self-imposed self-discipline he was capable of.

The paper on " The Changing East " could have been written only by Lawrence. It is a masterly survey of the East in the throes of the violent spiritual and material processes which, for want of a bigger word, we call " change." In vivid and arresting sentences he contrasts the deliberate movement of Western progress through " long centuries of struggle and invention," with that of " Asia who has stepped in a lifetime of thirty years from saddle-donkeys to Rolls-Royce cars, from blood-mares to aeroplanes," from spears to Maxim guns, from the scribe to the printing-press. He has hard things to say about " statesmen in blinkers," prescribing remedies for diseases they lack the knowledge to diagnose correctly ; and of the West, continuing on its way in the belief that it can still set the pace and maintain its start in a race in which, " for all we know, Asia may be gaining on us mentally," as well as materially. The brilliance, the inconsistency, the forcefulness, the weakness, the idealism of the Arab character is summed up in one phrase, as swift and vivid as lightning : " There is no record of any force except success capable of breaking them." He is hopeful yet cautious concerning the effect of Zionism upon Palestine, and emphasizes the vast potential influence of Russia in the Near East. Lawrence wrote his article in September, 1920, and though political changes have occurred since then, his amazing knowledge, understanding and grasp of Near Eastern peoples and conditions make it fundamentally as true in 1939 as it was then. This article is the most important and substantial feature of the book, but some may give priority of interest to the Introductory Chapter from *The Seven Pillars*, which was suppressed on Mr. Bernard Shaw's advice, though for no reasons either literary or discretionary need it have been suppressed in 1920 any more than in 1939. The War Photographs are of supreme interest, as giving some idea of the conditions in which Lawrence waged and won the Desert War. The Editor, Mr. A. W. Lawrence, deserves all gratitude and praise for the excellence of his judgment and skill in the arrangement and presentation of this wholly delightful book.

E. M. E. B.

Gerasa, City of the Decapolis. Carl H. Kraeling, Editor. xxxii and 616 pages. 47 text figures, frontispiece and 143 plates, 47 plans. American Schools of Oriental Research, New Haven, Connecticut, 1938. Cloth, 10 dollars.

Gerasa was the ancient name of Jerash, a city of well preserved ruins now easy of access to the visitor to Palestine, which has been excavated by Yale University, the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, and the American Schools of Oriental Research in collaboration. The present volume presents the results of those excavations, which had to be discontinued leaving part of the city untouched. Introductory chapters recount the work done by previous expeditions and travellers, and describe the topography and the history of the site from its foundation as a Hellenistic colony to the early Middle Ages when it fell into ruin and was finally abandoned. The name Gerasa, as contrasted with its more official name of Antiocheia on the Chrysorrhoas, evidently goes back to a pre-Hellenistic native village, and the cult of Olympian Zeus, which seems to have been more important than that of Artemis in the early period of the city, may have behind it a native cult of Baal. But no archaeological remains of the pre-Hellenistic period have been found, even the etymology of the name Gerasa is obscure, and the place cannot be identified either in the Old Testament or other sources of Oriental history. It is not known who founded the Hellenistic city, though Antiochus IV is suggested, and archaeological evidence does not become plentiful till the first century A.D.

After the break-up of the Seleucid kingdom Gerasa and its rural territory were held by petty rulers, and in the reign of Alexander Jannaeus became part of the Jewish kingdom for a generation until Pompey's settlement made it an autonomous city of the Roman province of Syria. There were Jews resident in the city at the outbreak of the First Revolt, and Josephus says that their relations with the rest of the community were better than they were in most cities at this time. Kraeling suggests that " accustomed as it was to the participation of the Nabataeans in its civic life, the municipality may be thought to have known how to deal with racial minorities " ; if so, the twentieth century could learn with advantage from the first.

It is difficult to bring the archaeological evidence into accordance with Josephus' statement that Gerasa was twice sacked in the course of the First Revolt and its suppression, and it is suggested that these events really occurred in the " land of the Gerasenes," the extensive rural territory around the city. (p. 45 f.) A synagogue, built by the Jewish community perhaps about A.D. 400, had a mosaic floor representing scenes from the Flood. The building had probably fallen into disrepair at the beginning of the sixth century, and its transformation into a church in A.D. 530–531 is probably to be connected with the hardening of the official anti-Jewish policy of the time.

The annexation of the Nabataean kingdom as the Roman province of Arabia in A.D. 105 and Trajan's building of the great new roads southward through Transjordan added greatly to the importance of Gerasa and laid the foundation for its increasing prosperity in the second century. But already in the middle of the first century the city had taken a Roman town-plan, obscuring the earlier Hellenistic layout, and there had been great building activity which continued unbroken under Hadrian and the Antonines, culminating in the great co-ordinated scheme which threw a bridge over the river and led from it a colonnaded sacred way to propylaea opening before the Temple of Artemis. In the previous period Gerasa had been culturally dependent on Petra at least as much as on Syria, but in the second century northern influences predominated and it is to Baalbek and Palmyra that one turns for comparisons. It is suggested, however, that a relatively pure Hellenistic tradition, of which the great hoard of figurines not yet ready for detailed publication in this volume is evidence, survived into the second century; and Temple C, ascribed to the second century A.D., is regarded as the tomb of some distinguished citizen, a Heroon of Greek type in contrast to the Oriental monumental tombs of Palmyra and Petra.

In the fourth century the establishment of Christianity as the official religion of the empire once more changed the centre of gravity in the Near East, and from now onwards it is to the Holy Land that we must first look for the sources of Gerasene culture. Northern Transjordan had already had Christian bishops well before Constantine, when the young religion no doubt had strong local characteristics and echoes of paganism. It is interesting to find that an annual miracle at Gerasa, at which water was changed into wine, may have had as much to do with a Nabataean rite in honour of Dusares as with the miracle of Cana. It is thought that the Cathedral may have been built about A.D. 365. The later fifth and the early sixth century were a period of increased prosperity and saw the building of many new churches in the city. J. W. Crowfoot emphasizes their great archaeological importance, since so many of them are exactly dated and they have not been transformed by medieval restorations like so many early churches in other lands. He discusses the alteration of the church plan when the Great and Little Entrances were introduced into the service, probably in the reign of Justin II (A.D. 565–576). These solemn processions from the Prothesis chapel at the east end of the north aisle into the body of the church and so to the altar caused the chancel rail to be continued in a straight line across the aisles. This feature occurs here in the latest of the churches only, built in A.D. 611. In general the churches of Gerasa, like those of Palestine, show a reluctance to abandon the classical tradition of the basilica. The influence of Byzantium of the fourth and fifth centuries remained predominant, and there was little reflection of the architectural innovations now being practised in North Syria and Mesopotamia or of the great experiments of Justinian's architects at Constantinople. Even after the Moslem conquest religious architecture in Southern Syria and Palestine remained " subclassical " with little trace of the new Byzantine formulae. (A number of the contributors use the term " Mohammedan," which might well be allowed to become obsolete in favour of the correct " Muslim " or " Moslem.")

" Art historians . . . have spoken of this period of mosaic production " (from the fifth to the seventh century) " as an artistic decadence. Although losing in perspective and anatomical correctness when compared with classical examples, the gain in variety and decorative quality which such a series as the mosaics of Gerasa offers seems hardly to be denied." F. M. Biebel emphasizes the importance of Syria, Palestine, and Transjordan in the history of mosaic decoration. Discussing the walled cities which appear in the mosaics of two churches, he traces the motif from Oriental art through the Hellenized art of Asia Minor (Gjölbashi-Trysa and the Nereid Monument) to Hellenistic art. The Gerasa walled cities are used chiefly as conventionalized ornament, as contrasted with those of the Madeba map which are realistic and have great topographical value for the restoration of Byzantine Jerusalem.

It is pointed out that though the pressure of Arab tribes from the desert in the fourth and early fifth century could not fail to be harmful to Gerasa and her neighbours, the firmer imperial policy towards them in the later fifth century, culminating in Justinian's consolidation of all the tribes under Al Harith Ibn Jabalah, would work positively to the advantage of the cities that traded with them, and would therefore be a factor in Gerasa's increased prosperity in that period. The early Moslem period is represented by a considerable number of coins which show that commercial activity was not greatly impaired by the Arab conquest. Fragments of marble slabs with Arabic inscriptions in ink, which seem to be shopkeepers' accounts, have been found. Similar Arabic inscriptions on marble have been found by the Colt Expedition at Sbaita in the Southern Desert of Palestine. It is to be hoped that the two groups, studied in connection with the Auja Hafir papyri, which are to be published shortly, may throw light on the economic conditions of the seventh century. There was much building of ramshackle houses in the South Tetrapylon at this period, and it is unfortunate that no plan of the area in this form is given. It would have shown graphically the contrast between the laissez-faire of these times and the controlled town-planning of Gerasa's most prosperous days; but the archaeologist in Palestine, eager to get down to layers of greater interest and publicity-value, too often disposes of the early Arab remains with summary contempt. Representations of living things in the church mosaics were destroyed perhaps in the reign of the zealot Yezid II (A.D. 720–724), but the churches were never taken from their congregations and put to other uses. A series of violent earthquakes did much destruction in the city, and the removal of the caliphate from Damascus to Baghdad took away much of its remaining importance. It sank to an insignificant village and was abandoned long before the Crusades.

All the previously published inscriptions of Gerasa are republished here together with the new ones, and there are very complete indexes and eight tables of comparative alphabets. A matter of epigraphical interest, the use of the Roman calendar in the sixth and early seventh centuries at Gerasa and Beisan, is discussed in the chapter on mosaics, page 300. P. V. C. Baur publishes the glassware, in particular a Christian bowl or chalice with two sheep facing the Cross. He considers it to have been made about A.D. 500 in Syria, though its closest analogies have been found in the Rhineland. The coin evidence is summarized from a complete publication in *Numismatic Notes and Monographs*, No. 81. C. S. Fisher publishes the pottery from a group of tombs, but the complete corpus is held over for a subsequent report.

It would have been more convenient if the many photographs and the plans, many of which are folded, had been bound separately from the text. It is doubtful whether the saving in price is sufficient compensation for the added difficulty of reference and the increased wear and tear. As the title refers to Gerasa as a city of the Decapolis, the historical chapter ought to have a map showing Gerasa's relation to her neighbours. Such a map should contain the great imperial roads and also indicate the distribution of good and bad lands. Mediterranean archaeology would profit by a greater use of the distribution-map that has become so vivid and suggestive a tool of the archaeologist in Western Europe.

G. E. KIRK.

The Committee have to acknowledge with thanks the following :

The Antiquaries Journal, XIX, 3, July, 1939. Review of Sidney Smith, Assyrian Sculptures in the British Museum, by R. Maxwell-Hyslop.

Annals of Archeology and Anthropology, XXVI, 1–2. The Iron-Age Graves of Carchemish, by Sir Leonard Woolley. Explorations in Cilicia. The Neilson Expedition : Fourth Interim Report, by J. Garstang. Explorations in Cilicia. Neilson Expedition : 1938–9. The Earlier Cultures at Mersin, by Miles Burkitt.

The Expository Times, July–September, 1939.

Great Britain and the East, July–September, 1939.

The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, July–September, 1938.

The New Judaea, May–June, 1939. Jewish Agency Memorandum to the League of Nations. The White Paper on Palestine.

The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, June, 1939.

Religions, July, 1939.

The Scottish Geographical Magazine, 55, 4.

American Journal of Archaeology, XLIII, 1 and 2. Archaeological Exploration and Excavation in Palestine, Transjordan and Syria during 1938, by Nelson Glueck.

American Journal of Philology, LX, 3.

American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures, July, 1939. The Unicorn in the Old Testament, by A. H. Godbey.

Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, 74. The Israelite Conquest of Canaan in the Light of Archaeology, by W. F. Albright.

Geographical Review, July, 1939.

Jewish Quarterly Review, XXX, 1. July, 1939.

Journal of the American Oriental Society, 59, 2, June, 1939. The Sacred Tree on Palestine Painted Pottery, by H. G. May.

Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique, LXII, 1.

Le Muséon, LII, 1–2. Inscriptions sud-arabes (cinquiême série), by G. Ryckmans.

Nouvelle Revue Théologique, June–August, 1939.

Revue Biblique, July, 1939. Les Fouilles de Tell ed-Douweir=Lachish, by L-H. Vincent.

Archiv für Orientforschung, XII, 6. Review of the *editio princeps* of the Lachish Letters, by J. Cantineau.

Orientalistische Literaturzeitung, June–July, 1939.

Biblica, 20, 3. Neuere Arbeiten zur biblischen Archäologie und Palästinakunde, by A. Bea.

Archiv Orientalni, XI, 1. June, 1939. The Assyrian Calendar, by J. Lewy.

Bible Lands, July, 1939.

Bulletin of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society, April, 1939.

ΝΕΑ ΣΙΩΝ, April–May, 1939.
The Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine, VII, 1–2.
Annual Bibliography of Islamic Art and Archaeology, Vol. III, 1937, ed. L. A. Mayer.
Judaism, by I. Epstein.
Archaeology and the New Testament, by S. Caiger.
La Phénicie et l'Asie occidentale, by Raymond Weill.
Jewish Rights and Jewish Wrongs, by N. Laski.
Moses and Monotheism, by Sigmund Freud.

TRANSLITERATION OF HEBREW AND ARABIC CONSONANTS

HEBREW

Hebrew	English		Hebrew	English	
א	’		כ	k̲h̲	
בּ	b		ל	l	
ב	b̲h̲		מ	m	
גּ	g		נ	n	
ג	g̲h̲		ס	s	
דּ	d		ע	‘	
ד	d̲h̲		פּ	p	
ה	h		פ	f	
ו	v, w		צ	ẕ	
ז	z		ק	ḵ	
ח	ẖ		ר	r	
ט	ṯ		שׁ	s̲h̲	
י	y		שׂ	s̱	
כּ	k		תּ	t	
			ת	t̲h̲	

ARABIC

Arabic	English		Arabic	English	
ا	’		ض	ḏ	
ب	b		ط	ṯ	
ت	t		ظ	t̲z̲	
ث	t̲h̲		ع	‘	
ج	g	or j in Syrian Arabic.	غ	g̲h̲	
ح	ẖ		ف	f	
خ	k̲h̲		ق	ḵ	
د	d		ك	k	
ذ	d̲h̲		ل	l	
ر	r		م	m	
ز	z		ن	n	
س	s		ه	h	
ش	s̲h̲		و	w	
ص	ẕ		ي	y	

Long vowels marked thus :—ā, ē, ī, ō, ū

Bound in here

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND

ANNUAL REPORT

AND ACCOUNTS

WITH

LIST OF SUBSCRIPTIONS

FOR THE YEAR 1939

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND
2 HINDE STREET, MANCHESTER SQUARE, LONDON, W.1

THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND

A SOCIETY FOR THE ACCURATE AND SYSTEMATIC INVESTIGATION OF THE ARCHAEOLOGY, THE TOPOGRAPHY, THE GEOLOGY AND PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY, THE MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE HOLY LAND, FOR BIBLICAL ILLUSTRATION.

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The Society was established on the basis of the following rules :—

1. It was not to be a religious society. That is to say, it should be pledged not to advocate or attack any form of creed or doctrine.
2. It was not to adopt or to defend any side in controversial matters.
3. It was to be conducted on strictly scientific principles.

These rules have been jealously observed. The Society's organ, the QUARTERLY STATEMENT, is open to all opinions, while it records as facts only the actual discoveries and results of its exploring officers. Although the Society is not a religious society, strictly so called, its work necessarily possesses unusual interest for Bible Students of all denominations, who find in the results obtained by exploration much that confirms and illustrates the historical truth of both the Old and New Testaments. In the course of its existence, the Society, with limited funds at its disposal, has done an immense amount of work, and published the results in books, papers, maps, plans and photographs, primarily for the benefit of its subscribers, and for the advantage of students of the Sacred Scriptures.

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PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND

ANNUAL REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1939

At the outbreak of war, on 3rd September, 1939, the Fund had made a beginning with the projected Archaeological Survey of Palestine; and it is still hoped that it may be found possible, with the co-operation of the Department of Antiquities, to carry out, from time to time, such investigations, especially in view of the fact that the country is in a far less disturbed condition than it was before the war began. At present, the chief archaeological responsibility is the preparation by Mr. J. W. Crowfoot of the remaining volumes describing the results of the excavations at Samaria during the years 1930 to 1935. The volume on *The Early Ivories* has already appeared and it is hoped to issue a further volume before the end of the year.

The arrangements necessitated by the war were described in a leaflet circulated to subscribers some months ago. They were to the following effect: The organization of the Fund was being kept intact; the Palestine Exploration Quarterly would continue to be published; the library at No. 2, Hinde Street, W.1, would be open on Tuesdays and Fridays in each week from 11.30 a.m. to 2.30 p.m. for purposes of research and study, and might be opened at other times by arrangement with the Assistant Secretary. (Note. The office and library will be open from 1st May, 1940, from 10 a.m. to 4.30 p.m., on Mondays to Fridays inclusive.)

Colonel S. F. Newcombe, who was Hon. Treasurer from June, 1933, until March, 1939, found it necessary, on account of increasing calls on his time in other directions, to retire from that office, but he will continue to serve on the Executive Committee. The Annual Meeting of last year expressed the thanks of the Fund to Colonel Newcombe for his able services in that capacity, and, in his place, elected Mr. A. M. Hyamson, who kindly consented to accept the post.

The Executive Committee of the Fund is glad to be able to report that, in spite of the difficulties attendant upon war conditions, there have been but few resignations of subscribers and it confidently appeals to the body of subscribers to the Fund to continue their indispensable support, and thus ensure the continuance of such activities as are possible during war-time, and the resumption of a full programme of work when the war is over.

A survey of the accounts for the year shows that the balance carried forward is £191 as compared with £320 a year earlier. A proportion of the rent due to the Fund at the end of the year has, however, since been paid and will fall into the accounts for 1940. Moreover there was no payment during the year 1939 on account of the Archaeological Survey and the *Seven Pillars of Wisdom* Trust, the account of the latter having been wound up in the previous year. The item Fittings and Fixtures also shows a large reduction, but in the previous year this was for the most part covered in advance by the bequest of the late Lady Watson. Other items that call for special notice are the payments in respect of the *Early Ivories from Samaria* and the second volume of the Samaria-Sebaste excavations. These two items total £163 14*s*. 11*d*. as compared with an expenditure of £7 15*s*. 10*d*. in respect of the earlier book in the previous year. The balance of the cost of the Early Ivories book was defrayed by the Samaria Joint Account to which the Fund was a substantial contributor. This account is now closed and the cost of the two further volumes, of which £60 *5s.* 8*d.* has already been paid, will fall on the Fund.

We have also to record with an expression of thanks the receipt of a special donation of £25 from Mrs. Lake Barnett which is to be devoted to the purchase of a much needed larger committee table, to be inscribed as a memorial to the late H. Coote-Lake, Esq., who was a member of the Fund for many years.

Apart from the additional expenditure referred to above, the income of the Fund for the year 1940 must show a reduction in consequence of the vacation of one of the flats in its building. It is hoped that this loss and also the inevitable normal loss of subscribers will be made good by the enrolment of new members of the Fund. There must be a large public to which even in the present difficult times, the work of the Fund would, if it were brought to its notice, make a ready appeal. Present subscribers, and above all the local secretaries, are thanked for their support in the past and are asked to bring the Fund and its work to the notice of their friends so that it may without anxiety continue to pursue the programme it has laid down.

The following lectures were given during the early half of the year: *Excavations in Petra*, by Dr. Margaret Murray; *Excavations at Beisan* by Mr. G. M. FitzGerald; *Discoveries in Cilicia*, by Prof. J. Garstang.

The thanks of the Committee are extended to the lecturers and to the many contributors of articles, reviews and notices which appeared in the year's issues of the PALESTINE EXPLORATION QUARTERLY, the Editor of which will be grateful for a continuance of this valuable support in difficult times.

Signed on behalf of the Executive Committee, 16th April, 1940.	C. F. ARDEN-CLOSE, *Chairman.* C. B. MORTLOCK, *Hon. Secretary.*

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND

BALANCE SHEET 31st DECEMBER, 1939

Liabilities.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Capital :—						
Authorised—200 Shares of £1 each	200	0	0			
Issued—10 Shares of £1 each—not called				—		
Sundry Creditors—For Current Expenses				36	11	10
Surplus of Assets over Liabilities :—						
(Excluding Donated Property) as per last Balance Sheet	1,923	16	5			
Less Excess of Expenditure over Income for the year	127	10	9	1,796	5	8
				£1,832	17	6

Assets.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Freehold Property—Donated—No. 2 Hinde Street (Estimated value £5,000)				—		
Alterations and Improvements No. 2 Hinde Street				1,188	17	5
Museum, Library and Store-room, Fixtures, Fittings, Furniture, etc. (as per last Balance Sheet) ...				382	2	7
Jewish Colonial Trust—Donated—50 Ordinary Shares of £1 each, fully paid				—		
Stock of Publications, Maps, Books, Models, Lantern Slides, Library, Antiques, Furniture, etc.				—		
Sundry Debtors				6	15	1
Subscriptions in Arrear				64	1	0
Cash :—						
At Bank	£172	4	10			
In Hand	18	16	7	191	1	5
				£1,832	17	6

C. F. Arden-Close, *Chairman.*

A. M. Hyamson, *Hon. Treasurer.*

RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31st DECEMBER, 1939

RECEIPTS.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
To Balance—31st December, 1938 ...				320	13	9
,, Subscriptions and Donations, including Local Societies				589	1	2
,, Special Donation from Mrs. Lake Barnett, Reserved to provide Committee table in memory of the late H. Coote Lake, Esq.				25	0	0
,, Sale of Publications:						
Books	59	3	3			
Casts, Maps and Lantern Slides ...	33	13	1			
				92	16	4
,, Rent of Upper Floors and Basement, No. 2, Hinde Street				302	12	10
,, Income Tax Repayment from Covenanted Subscriptions				41	13	8
				£1,371	17	9

PAYMENTS	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
By Printing, including PALESTINE EXPLORATION QUARTERLY, Annual Report, Postage and despatch ...				346	10	7
,, Editor's fee				50	0	0
,, "Early Ivories from Samaria" ...				103	9	3
,, Samaria-Sebaste Illustrations and blocks				60	5	8
,, Books purchased: For Library and re-binding	2	18	9			
For Re-sale ...	4	9	10			
				7	8	7
,, Grant to Dr. S. Birnbaum for his *Hebrew Paleography*				20	0	0
,, Relief Map, Lantern Slides and Photographs				7	9	6
,, Lectures and Meetings				2	2	0
,, Repairs and Maintenance				18	13	7
,, Museum Fittings and Fixtures ...				9	10	11
,, Salaries and Wages				457	9	8
,, Postages and Telephone				31	13	9
,, Insurances				5	16	4
,, Water Rates				10	0	1
,, Lighting and Heating				20	9	0
,, Advertising				3	10	0
,, Stationery and Sundries				15	1	1
,, Audit Fee				10	10	0
,, Cheque Books and Bank Charges ...					16	4
				£1,180	16	4
,, Cash: At Bank } 31st Dec., 1939	172	4	10			
In hand }	18	16	7			
				191	1	5
				£1,371	17	9

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Receipts for year, as shown above	1,051	4	0	Payments for year, as shown above	1,180	16	4
Less : Arrears of last year's subscriptions, etc., received during 1939 ...	71	0	0	*Less :* Creditors at 31st December, 1938, paid during 1939	38	17	4
	£980	4	0		1,141	19	0
Add : Arrears, etc., at 31st December, 1939, as shown by Balance Sheet ...	70	16	1	*Add :* Creditors at 31st December, 1939, as shown by Balance Sheet	36	11	10
Excess of Expenditure over Income ...	127	10	9				
	£1,178	10	10		£1,178	10	10

AUDITORS' REPORT TO THE MEMBERS OF THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

We report that we have obtained all the information and explanations we have required as Auditors. We have examined and compared the above Balance Sheet and the Receipts and Payments Account with the books and vouchers of the Fund, and, in our opinion, they are properly drawn up so as to exhibit a true and correct view of the state of the affairs of the Fund, according to the best of our information and the explanations given to us and as shewn by the books of the Fund.

19 COLEMAN STREET,
LONDON, E.C.2.
8th May, 1940.

TURQUAND, YOUNGS, MCAULIFFE & CO.,
Chartered Accountants.

LIST OF SUBSCRIPTIONS AND DONATIONS

RECEIVED BETWEEN JANUARY 1st AND DECEMBER 31st, 1939, INCLUSIVE.

*** If any omission or mistake be observed in the following lists, the Secretary will be very glad to be informed of it, and will rectify the error in the next Annual Report.

	£	s.	d.
Adler, E. N., Esq.	0	10	6
Alford, Miss M.	1	1	0
Arden-Close, Sir Charles ...	2	2	0
Argyll and the Isles, Dean of	1	1	0
Armitage, Robert, Esq. ...	2	2	0
Ashmole, Prof. Bernard ...	1	1	0
Auffarth, F. B., Esq. ...	0	17	3
Balston, Miss F. C. ...	1	1	0
Barclay, Col. R. L. ...	1	1	0
Barham, S. P., Esq. ...	1	1	0
Barnes, Prof. W. Emery ...	1	1	0
Barnett, R. D., Esq. ...	1	1	0
Barron, Mrs.	1	1	0
Bate, Miss D. M.	1	1	0
Batho, Miss D.	1	1	0
Baxendell, J., Esq. ...	0	12	6
Bayley, Arthur R., Esq. ...	2	2	0
Beasley, Walter, Esq. ...	2	2	0
Becke, Major A. F. ...	1	1	0
Belmore, The Earl of ...	1	1	0
Bentzen, Prof. A.	1	1	0
Birnbaum, Dr. S.	1	1	0
Blair, Dr. D. P.	1	1	0
Blyth, Miss Estelle ...	1	1	0
Bonney, Prof. Holbrook ...	1	1	0
Boulton, W. H., Esq. ...	1	1	0
Brackenrig, L. R., Esq. ...	1	1	0
Bramwell, W., Esq. ...	1	1	0
Brian, Miss E. O.	1	1	0
Bristow, Ernest, Esq. ...	1	1	0
Brown, James, Esq., Jr. ...	2	2	0
Bugbee, Dr. Lucius ...	1	1	4
Burdon, Rev. R. J. ...	1	1	0
Bushell, W. F., Esq. ...	1	1	0
Buxton, Dr. P. A.	1	1	0
Caiger, Rev. S. L.	1	1	0
Cairns, Rev. Dr. W. T. ...	0	10	6
Carpenter, Rev. F. W. ...	0	10	6
Caullie, Lt.-Col. A. G. ...	1	1	0
Chalmers-Hunt, D. R., Esq.	1	1	0
Christian, Dr. V.	1	1	8
Clarke, Col. N. P.	1	1	0
Cole, S. C., Esq.	2	2	0
Commissariat of the Holy Land	1	1	0
Carried forward	50	7	3

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward ...	50	7	3
Crace, Mrs.	2	2	0
Crace, J. F., Esq.	1	1	0
Crawford, L., Esq.	1	1	0
Crawford, O. G. S., Esq. ...	1	1	0
Crowfoot, J. W., Esq. ...	1	1	0
Curson, Miss D. L.	1	1	0
Curwen, B. H., Esq. ...	1	9	0
Curwen, Dr. E. Cecil ...	1	1	0
Curwen, Dr. Elliot	2	2	0
Danley, Rev. Canon ...	1	1	0
Davies, Miss A. M.	1	1	0
Deacon, J. F. W., Esq. ...	2	2	0
Deedes, Mrs. C. N.	1	1	0
Dixon, Rev. H. L.	1	1	0
Dolton, P. H. I., Esq. ...	1	1	0
Dowling, Miss F. H. ...	1	1	0
Driver, G. R., Esq. ...	2	2	0
Du Boulay, Brig.-Gen. W. H.	1	1	0
Dugmore, Rev. C. W. ...	2	2	0
Dulau, Mons. P.	1	1	0
Edwards, Rev. A. H. ...	1	1	0
Edwards, W. C., Esq. ...	1	1	0
Elliger, Prof. Carl	0	13	10
Elmslie, Rev. Prof. W. A.	1	1	0
Elverson, Miss	0	5	0
Elvins, Rev. S. W. G. ...	1	1	0
Ennis, Rev. A. R.	1	1	0
Evans, E. M. P., Esq. ...	1	1	0
Falconer, Harold, Esq. ...	1	1	0
Finn, Miss C. M.	1	1	0
Firminger, Rev. Dr. W. ...	1	1	0
FitzGerald, G. M., Esq. ...	2	2	0
Fleming, Andrew, Esq. ...	1	1	0
Fothergill, Dr. Claud ...	1	1	0
Fox, Lady	1	0	0
Frank, Miss	1	1	0
Fraser, Chas. J., Esq. ...	2	2	0
Fremlin, Frank, Esq. ...	2	0	0
Freshfield, The Misses ...	1	1	0
Gabriel, J. W. W., Esq. ...	2	0	0
Gamble, Rev. H. J. ...	2	2	0
Gardiner, Dr. A. H. ...	2	2	0
Garner, Rev. H.	1	1	0
Carried forward ...	106	1	1

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward ...	106	1	1
Garnett, Rev. T. A. ...	1	1	0
Garstang, Prof. J.	4	4	0
Gentle-Cackett, Rev. S. W.	1	1	0
Gerold & Co., Messrs. ...	1	1	0
Gibson, Mrs.	2	2	0
Goadby, Dr. F. M. ...	1	1	0
Gold, Mrs.	2	2	0
Goodenough, Admiral Sir W.	1	1	0
Graves, Clarence, Esq. ...	1	1	0
Gray, Melville, Esq. ...	1	0	0
Grazebrook, Mrs.	2	2	0
Griffin, Dr. F. W. W. ...	0	10	6
Griffin, H. J. S., Esq. ...	1	1	0
Gubb, Mrs. A. M.	1	1	0
Gurney, Oliver R., Esq. ...	1	1	0
Hammond, Col. F. S. ...	2	2	0
Haider, Dr. Franz	1	1	0
Hardman, L. H., Esq. ...	1	1	0
Harrassowtz, W. Otto ...	1	1	0
Harrison, Miss W. A. ...	0	10	6
Hay, Major A. E.	1	1	0
Haycraft, Lady	1	1	0
Healy, Archdn. J. W. ...	1	1	0
Heath, Rev. Alban ...	1	1	0
Hertz, Very Rev. J. H. ...	1	1	0
Hewetson, Rev. J.	1	1	0
Hiersemann, K. W., Esq. ...	2	2	0
Hilion, Prof. G.	1	1	0
Hindley, Miss R. C. ...	1	1	0
Hinke, Prof. W.	1	1	1
Hippisley, Miss E.	1	1	0
Hodgkin, Miss A. M. ...	1	1	0
Hodgson, Miss S. H. ...	0	10	0
Hollis, Miss E.	1	1	0
Hollis, Rev. Dr. F. J. ...	1	1	0
Hooke, Prof. S. H.	1	1	0
Horn, Siegfried, Esq. ...	1	1	0
Houtsma, Prof. D. M. ...	0	10	6
Hulbert-Powell, Canon C. L.	2	2	0
Hunter, Miss M. V. ...	1	1	0
H. W. J.	1	1	0
Hyamson, A. M., Esq. ...	1	1	0
Hyde, Sir Charles	2	2	0
Ingholt, Prof. H.	1	1	0
Jack, Rev. Dr. J. W. ...	1	1	0
Jackson, Lady	2	2	0
Johnson, Rev. Lewis ...	1	1	0
Jones, Rev. Canon R. C. S.	1	1	0
Jones, Rev. Thos. E. H. ...	1	1	0
Julian, Mrs. M. B.	2	2	0
Kenyon, Miss K. M. ...	1	1	0
King, Miss A. J.	0	10	6
Kirkness, W. E., Esq. ...	2	2	0
de Knevett, E., Esq. ...	1	1	0
Ladson, C. A., Esq. ...	1	1	0
Laidlay, Mrs. A. E. ...	1	0	0
Lake-Barnett, Mrs. H. ...	2	2	0
La Page, John, Esq. ...	1	1	0
Laxon, Sidney, Esq. ...	1	1	0
Lee, Rev. E. J.	1	1	0
Carried forward ...	181	0	2

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward ...	181	0	2

Libraries—

	£	s.	d.
Aberdeen Public Library	0	10	6
Aberdeen University ...	1	1	0
Adelaide Public Library	1	1	0
Allegheny College ...	1	1	0
Alleyns School	1	11	6
Alma College	1	1	0
American Academy in Rome	2	2	0
American Philosophical Society	1	1	0
American Univ. Beirut ...	1	1	0
Amherst College	1	1	0
Armagh Library	1	1	0
Ashmolean Museum ...	1	1	0
Auburn Theol. Seminary	2	2	7
Basel University ...	1	1	0
Berkeley Bap. Div. School	1	1	0
Berlin University ...	1	1	0
Birmingham Public Libraries	1	1	0
Boston Public Library ...	1	1	0
Bradford City Library ...	0	10	6
Breslau University ...	1	1	0
Brighton Public Libraries	1	1	0
Bristol Public Libraries	1	1	0
British Columbia, Union College of	1	1	0
Brooklyn Inst. of Arts and Sciences	1	1	0
Brown University ...	1	1	0
Bucknell Library ...	1	1	0
Butler University ...	1	1	0
Cairo Service des Antiquites	1	1	0
California University ...	1	1	0
Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology	5	0	0
Carnegie Library, Pittsburg	1	1	0
Case Memorial Library ...	2	2	6
Colgate-Rochester Divinity School	1	1	0
Colorado College	1	1	0
Cone Memorial Y.M.C.A.	2	2	1
Coopers Co. School ...	1	1	0
Copenhagen Royal Library	2	2	0
Cornell University (2 subs.)	2	2	0
Davidson College ...	1	1	0
Dominican House of Studies	1	1	0
Doshisha Theol. School ...	1	1	0
Duke University ...	1	1	0
Durham University ...	2	2	0
Eastern Bap. Theol. Seminary	1	1	0
Edinburgh Public Library	2	2	0
Emmanuel Missionary Coll.	1	1	0
Garret Biblical Institute	4	4	0
Geneva University ...	2	2	0
Gravesend County School	1	1	0
Griefswald Palestina Inst.	1	1	0
Carried forward ...	249	11	10

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	249	11	10
Halle University	1	1	0
Hamburg University	1	1	0
Harvard College	1	1	0
Haverford College	1	1	0
Heythrop College	0	10	6
Hibbard Old Testament Library	2	1	11
Hull Libraries	0	10	6
Ignatius College	1	1	0
Illinois University	1	1	0
Innsbruck Bibl. Seminar	1	1	0
Institut de France	1	1	0
Jewish Institute of Religion	1	1	0
Jewish Memorial Council	1	1	0
Jewish Theol. Seminary	1	1	0
Jews College	0	10	6
John Rylands Library	1	1	0
Kiel University	1	1	0
Konigsberg State Library	1	1	0
Leeds Library	1	1	0
Leeds University	2	2	0
Leipzig University	1	1	0
Lobl Literarische Anstalt	1	1	0
London University Lib.	1	1	0
Los Angeles Public Library	1	1	0
Lund University	1	1	0
Maastricht Theol. College	0	10	6
McMaster University	1	1	0
Manchester Coll., Oxford	6	6	0
Manchester University	1	1	0
Mansfield College	1	1	0
Mary Baldwin College	1	1	0
Metropolitan Museum of Art	1	1	0
Michigan University	2	2	0
Minneapolis Public Library	1	1	0
Moody Bible Institute	1	1	0
Mount Hoylake College	1	1	0
Murray Library	1	1	0
Nashota House Library	1	1	0
Neuchatel University	1	1	0
New College, London	1	1	0
New York Public Library	1	1	0
Newberry Library	1	1	0
Northwestern University	1	1	0
Oberlin College	1	1	0
Ottawa Parliament Liby.	1	1	0
Pacific School of Religion	2	2	6
Paris, Bibliotheque Nationale	1	1	0
Peabody Institute	1	1	0
Peiping National Library	1	1	0
Pittsburg-Xenia Seminary	1	1	1
Pretoria University	0	10	6
Princeton University	2	2	0
Richmond College	2	2	0
Royal Asiatic Society	1	1	0
St. Andrew's University	1	1	0
St. Augustine's College, Canterbury	1	1	0
St. Deiniol's Library	1	10	0
St. Edmund's, Ware	1	1	0
Carried forward	319	17	10

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	319	17	10
St. Louis Public Library	1	1	0
St. Mary's College, Kansas	1	1	0
St. Mary's Seminary	1	1	0
Smith College	1	3	9
Sorbonne University	1	1	0
S. Wales, University of	4	4	0
Spence Library	1	1	0
Strassburg University	1	1	0
Sydney Public Library	1	1	0
Syrie, Seminaire des Missions de	1	1	0
Texas Christian University	1	1	0
Union Theol. Seminary	1	1	0
Victoria (Aust.) Public Library	1	1	0
Wellesley College	1	1	0
Wells College Library	1	1	0
Westminster Theol. Seminary	1	1	0
Weston-super-Mare Library	1	1	0
Dr. Williams Library	2	2	0
Wisconsin University	1	1	0
Yale University	1	1	0
Zion Research Library	1	1	0
Llewellen, Mrs.	8	8	0
Lombe, Mrs.	1	1	0
Lucas, A., Esq.	1	1	0
Macalister, Prof. R. A. S.	1	1	0
McClellan, Rev. W. H.	1	1	0
McCown, Prof. C. C.	2	2	0
Macdonogh, Gen. Sir George	1	1	0
Mackintosh, Miss C. E.	1	1	0
Maconochie, Rev. J.	1	1	0
McLean, Dr. C. F.	1	1	0
Margoliouth, Prof. D. S.	0	10	6
Mathieson, George, Esq.	10	0	0
Matthew, H. M., Esq.	1	1	0
Max & Co., Messrs. J.	1	1	0
Mayer & Comp., Messrs.	1	1	0
Mitchell, Mrs. J. Malcolm	4	4	0
Money, R. J., Esq.	1	1	0
Monro, Dr. J. D. R.	1	1	0
Montgomery, Prof. J. A.	3	3	0
Moore, Rev. John	0	10	6
Morrell, C., Esq.	0	10	6
Morris, Rev. F. J. S.	1	1	0
Morris, Robert T., Esq.	1	1	0
Mortlock, Rev. C. B.	1	1	0
Moulton, Prof. W. J.	2	2	9
Moysey, C. F., Esq.	1	1	0
Murray, Rev. W.	0	10	6
Murray-Threipland, Mrs.	2	2	0
Neve, A. O., Esq.	1	1	0
Newcastle-on-Tyne, The Bishop of	0	10	6
Newcombe, Col. S. F.	1	1	0
Newman, E. W., Esq.	1	1	0
Newton, Miss F. E.	2	2	0
Noord-Noording, Messrs.	2	2	0
Norwich, The Dean of	2	2	0
Notscher, Prof.	1	1	0
Carried forward	409	6	10

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	409	6	10
Odendaal, Rev. Dr. J.	1	1	0
Oesterley, Rev. Dr. W. O.	1	1	0
Ogden, J. R., Esq.	2	2	0
Ord, G. R., Esq.	2	2	0
Owen, Miss L. G.	1	1	0
Palestine Potash Co.	2	2	0
Parfit, Rev. Canon J. T.	1	1	0
Parker, Miss A. M.	2	2	0
Parker, Miss Barbara	2	2	0
Parkminster, Rev. Prior of	1	1	0
Parrott, Dr. H. Winnock	1	1	0
Patrick, Rev. Alec	2	2	0
Payne-Smith, Rev. W. H.	1	1	0
Pazmany, Peter, Esq.	1	1	0
Pearce, H. W., Esq.	1	1	0
Penny, T. S., Esq.	1	1	0
Perkins, Mrs.	1	1	0
Pirie-Gordon, H., Esq.	2	2	0
Pitcairn, Mrs.	0	10	0
Pope, Rev. Fr. H.	1	1	0
Portsmouth, The Bishop of	1	1	0
Reeder, Rev. Preb. W.	0	10	6
Reid, Prof. R. W.	1	1	0
Richards, A., Esq.	1	1	0
Richards, Miss K. D.	3	3	0
Robertson, Prof. E.	1	1	0
Ross, H. H., Esq.	2	2	0
Salaman, Dr. R. N.	1	1	0
Salisbury, the Bishop of	2	2	0
Sanderson, Mrs.	1	1	0
Salmon, F. J., Esq.	1	1	0
Sauer, Dr. Josef	1	1	0
Schubeler, Mrs.	1	1	0
Scutt, Mrs. F. M.	1	1	0
Serle, S. C., Esq.	1	1	0
Shepstone, H. J., Esq.	1	1	0
Simpkin Marshall, Ltd.	1	1	0
Sinclair, Dr. J. D.	1	1	0
Slater, Rev. Preb. E. T.	1	1	0
Sloan, Rev. Dr. Andrew	1	1	0
Smith, A. E., Esq.	1	1	0
Smith, Bishop, M. Linton	2	2	0
Smith, Mrs. E.	1	1	0
Smith, Prof. Sidney	1	1	0
Smith & Son, Messrs. W. H.	1	1	0
Speakman, E. G., Esq.	1	1	0
Squire, Mrs.	0	10	6
Stapylton, A., Esq.	2	2	0
Stewart, Brig.-Gen. E. M. P.	1	11	6
Stewart, James R., Esq.	1	1	0
Stone, Rev. Dr. D.	1	1	0
Sulley, Henry, Esq.	1	1	0
Swets & Zeitlinger, Messrs.	0	2	1
Taylor, Hon. Mrs. Charles	1	1	0
Taylor, Gilbert J., Esq.	1	1	0
Terrill, F., Esq.	1	1	0
Tervit, Adam, Esq.	1	1	0
Thacker, Miss E. M.	2	2	0
Thompson, H. A., Esq.	4	4	0
Topic, Mr. F.	2	2	0
Trotter, Exors of the late A. M.	1	1	0
Carried forward	490	5	5

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	490	5	5
Truro, The Bishop of	1	1	0
Tufnell, Miss O.	1	1	0
Tuohy, Rev. George	4	4	0
Turner, George, Esq.	1	1	0
Tweedie, G. M., Esq.	1	1	0
Van Doesburgh, S. C., Esq.	1	1	0
Van Nuys, C. C., Esq.	1	1	0
Walker, Charles C., Esq.	2	2	0
Walker, Mrs. Harry	1	1	0
Walker, M. L.	0	10	6
Walker, N., Esq.	1	1	0
Walsh, A. St. G., Esq.	1	1	0
Walsh, Bro. Malachy	2	2	0
Walter, Miss C.	2	2	0
Warde-Aldam, Col. W. St. A.	1	1	0
Watson, Mrs. E. Gordon	1	1	0
Watson, Rev. H. W.	1	1	0
Wein-Green, J., Esq.	1	1	0
Were, Miss	0	5	0
Weston, Rev. F. G.	1	1	0
White, W. E., Esq.	1	1	0
Wheeler, Dr. P. D'Erf	1	1	0
Wigan, W. L., Esq.	1	1	0
Wilson, H. C., Esq.	1	1	0
Wilson-Smith, Mrs.	0	10	6
Winterbotham, A., Esq.	1	1	0
Woolf, Dr. Bertram Lee	1	1	0
Wylie, R. W., Esq.	1	1	0
Yewdall, Mrs. L.	1	1	0
	£525	3	5

EDINBURGH

Prof. N. Porteous
Hon. Local Sec.

	£	s.	d.
Bonar, Mrs.	1	1	0
Brown-Douglas, Rev. W. H.	1	1	0
Moir, J. W., Esq.	0	10	0
Porteous, Prof. N.	2	2	0
Reid. Dr. Walter	2	2	0
Ross, Rev. Wm.	2	1	3
Welch, Rev. Prof. A. C.	1	1	0
	£9	18	3

GLASGOW

Hon. Local Sec.
Rev. John Mauchline
Hon. Local Treas.
W. Patrick Mitchell, Esq.

	£	s.	d.
Allan, Miss Janie	1	1	0
Blair, Archibald, Esq.	1	1	0
Buchanan, Rev. J. Robertson	1	1	0
Champion, R. S., Esq.	1	1	0
Cuthbert, Alexander, Esq.	1	1	0
Carried forward	5	5	0

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward ...	5	5	0
Forrester, Rev. Dr. D. ...	1	1	0
Gemmell, W., Esq. ...	1	1	0
Glen, Miss	2	2	0
Hamilton, Rev. W. ...	1	1	0
Houston, Andrew, Esq. ...	1	1	0
Hunter, Dr. Walter K. ...	1	1	0
Macgregor, Rev. Principal W. M.	1	1	0
Maclay, Lord	1	1	0
Marshall, Miss D. N. ...	1	1	0
Mauchline, Prof. J. ...	1	1	0
Mitchell, Mrs. E. H. ...	1	1	0
Mitchell, Sir George ...	1	1	0
Mitchell Library	1	1	0
Mitchell, W. Patrick, Esq.	1	1	0
Monro, Prof. T. K. ...	1	1	0
Paterson, John, Esq. ...	1	1	0
Stevenson, David, Esq. ...	1	1	0
Stevenson, Rev. Prof. W. B.	1	1	0
Trinity College	1	1	0
Weir, Prof. C. J. Mullo ...	1	1	0
	£27	6	0

PALESTINE

Dr. E. W. G. Masterman

Hon. Local Sec.

	£	s.	d.
Christie, Rev. Dr. W. M. ...	2	2	0
Clark, S., Esq.	1	0	0
Harding, G. L., Esq. ...	2	2	0
Hulbert, Miss E.	1	1	0
Iliffe, J. H., Esq.	2	2	0
McInnes, Mrs.	1	1	0
McInnes, Rev. C.	1	1	0
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General List	525	3	5
Edinburgh	9	18	3
Glasgow	27	6	0
Palestine	26	13	6
	£589	1	2

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PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND

ARRANGEMENTS DURING THE WAR

ALTHOUGH some of the activities of the Fund are necessarily curtailed for the time being, the Executive Committee looks forward to their resumption as soon as possible. The organisation of the Fund is being kept intact. The war-time arrangements are as follows:

1. *The Palestine Exploration Quarterly* will continue to be published and distributed. The Editor, who is employed on war work, is of opinion that he can continue to edit the *Quarterly*.
2. The lecture-room, museum and office at 2 Hinde Street, W.1, are closed for the present, but the library is open on Tuesdays and Fridays from 11.30 a.m. to 2.30 p.m. for purposes of research or study, and for the issue of books to subscribers. In special circumstances it may be open at other times by arrangement with the Assistant Secretary. The programme of public lectures is suspended.
3. It is intended that the publication of the Samaria volumes, under the editorship of Mr. J. W. Crowfoot, shall be continued.
4. The Archæological Survey of Palestine is, for the present, in abeyance.
5. Routine business is being dealt with by the Assistant Secretary at "Branksome", Keswick Road, Fetcham, Leatherhead, Surrey. (Telephone: Awaiting transfer).

C. F. ARDEN-CLOSE
Chairman

C. B. MORTLOCK
Honorary Secretary

18 *October* 1939

PALESTINE EXPLORATION QUARTERLY

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JANUARY 1939
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With a chapter on the Greek Inscriptions by
M. N. Tod

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